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ABSTRACT

Keynote addresses and 13 selected conference papers are presented in these conference proceedings. The first keynote address, "Rethinking the Ways We Teach" (Barrie Thorne) is followed by "Black Studies/Women's Studies: Points of Convergence" (Johnella E. Butler), "Seeking Feminist Transformation of the Sciences and the Teaching of Science" (Kathryn Edwards), and "The Learning Climate and the Non-Traditional Student" (Sue Gordon-McCord). The next two papers, "The Best Feminist Criticism is a 'New' Criticism" (Geraldine Ruthchild) and "The Social Determination of Science: Some Implications for Women's Studies" (Stanley Bernstein) further examine feminist teaching methodologies. Papers related to the rethinking of social structures include "Bem's Gender Schema Theory" (Janet Hyde), "In Search of Excellence in Academic Libraries, or, Challenging the Henhouse Model" (Laverna Saunders), "Levels of Female Criminal Activity as a Correlate of Female Societal Power" (Yvonne Williams), and "A Comparison of the Movements Toward Equality in Yugoslavia and England" (Ellen Weisman). Papers in a section on life stories include "How Women and Men Write About Themselves (Less Differently Than You Might Expect)" (Catherine Lamb) and "Finding One's Way Through the Labyrinth: A Symposium on Women's Lives" (Penny Jameson, Linnea Brandwein Vacca, and Ann Kimble Loux). Finally, papers presenting an historical and literary perspective on marriage are "Ibsen's 'A Doll's House': A Directorial Perspective on Performing Nora" (Dwight Watson), "Response" (Carolyn J. Lancet), and "Marital Metaphors in the Judeo-Christian Tradition: A Feminist Critique" (Thomas E. Ludwig and Jane R. Dickie). A schedule of conference events concludes the document. (LH)

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Feminist Pedagogy and the Learning Climate

Proceedings of the Ninth Annual GLCA Women's Studies Conference

November 4-6, 1983

Edited by Katherine Loring
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The Great Lakes Colleges Association includes the following institutions: Albion College, Antioch College, Denison University, DePauw University, Earlham College, Hope College, Kalamazoo College, Kenyon College, Oberlin College, Ohio Wesleyan University, Wabash College, and The College of Wooster.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

RETHINKING THE WAYS WE TEACH*

Barrie Thorne, Michigan State University

In her poem "Cartographies of Silence," Adrienne Rich writes of silence:

> It is a presence
> it has a history a form
>
> Do not confuse it
> with any kind of absence[1]

What are the meanings of silence in the classroom? What can silences teach us about knowledge, about processes of teaching and learning, about the nature of social and political life?

In the last decade we have learned a great deal about contours of speech and silence by asking: where are the women? And, in a more complex way, where are the Hispanic, the Black, the Native American, the Asian-American women? Where are the working women, the lesbians?

A related series of questions connect knowledge with experience. What are the effects on those (including students and teachers) whose lives, histories, and experiences have been enveloped in silence or distortion? And what are the effects on the privileged—the Euro-American, the heterosexual, the class-privileged, the men and boys—whose specific experiences have been inflated as universal knowledge?

One can explore these questions by examining the effects of masculine "generics" (the use of male terms like "he" and "man" in contexts where gender is not specified, as in "the evolution of man" or "every student should pick up his assignment"). I have asked women students how they experience themselves when they hear or read the masculine generic. One woman said, "I blank out; I hear or read the words, but my mind is blank." Another said, "I feel schizophrenic; I try to force myself into the 'he,' but I'm straddling the whole time, partly in and partly out."

Cumulative research evidence shows that discomfort with, and alienation from, masculine generics is widespread. The singular "they" has been used for centuries,[2] and people sometimes use "she" in generic contexts, e.g., to refer to elementary school teachers or secretaries, some of whom are male. Why would these usages persist if "he" were a fully workable generic? Recent research by psycholinguists provides further evidence that "he/man" are false generics. In separate experiments Wendy Martyna and Donald

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[1] In The Dream of a Common Language (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), p. 17.
[2] Ann Bodine, "Androcentrism in Prescriptive Grammar," Language in Society 4 (1975): 129-46.

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MacKay both found that when male and female subjects hear or read the masculine generic, they mentally picture men and boys.[3] Martyna found that 40% of men had mental imagery (of males) when they read "he" or "his" in generic contexts, but only 10% of the women had any imagery at all; like my student, the women "blanked out."[4]

A classroom experiment undertaken by Cathryn Adamsky suggests that the experience of "blanking out" can be turned around, with a release of psychic energy.[5] While teaching an undergraduate course in child psychology, Adamsky consistently used "she/her" in generic contexts (the abstracted individual lurks at the center of psychology, providing many occasions for using a singular generic). Examining student written work, Adamsky found that over the course of the term both men and women reduced their use of "he" as the generic singular (as a control, she looked at writing from an earlier term, when she used the masculine generic; there was no such shift). Adamsky asked students to reflect on their experiences of her use of the "generic she." Women students felt included by the use of "she"; one wrote that the generic she "gave me a sense of equality—power even"; another wrote, "I felt surprisingly proud when I used it."[6] Interestingly, the majority of the men said they did not feel excluded by the usage; the "she" was educative. Both women and men felt that "she" is not the final answer and that our language needs a fully inclusive pronoun.

The other side of "blanking out" is the inflated sense of presence and self-importance which accompanies privilege. Robert Coles uses the term "entitlement" to refer to the emotional expression of "familiar, class-bound prerogatives of money and power."[7] The essence of entitlement is to take one's privilege for granted, not to notice, and hence to perpetuate, patterns of inequality and control. The masculine generics (including a whole array of terms, like "mankind" and "chairman") encourage boys and men to take masculine presence for granted at the core of language. This detail of entitlement may be small, but it is recurring; MacKay estimates that in the course of a lifetime a highly educated American is exposed to generically used "he" a million times.[8]

Heterosexual, white, and middle class, as well as male assumptions permeate knowledge; all of these forms of entitlement are perpetuated by being taken-for-granted. For example, "couple" is assumed to mean "heterosexual couple"; prefixes ("lesbian couple") designate marginality and subordination. The choices of example and bits of humor which sprinkle classroom talk usually assume that everyone is caught up in heterosexual dating and intends to marry. As Marilyn Frye observes, even women's studies courses take heterosexuality for granted: "the searching out of careers and 'feminist men,' the development of 'egalitarian marriages' and the management of heterosexual sex and the family."[9] At best, many women's studies courses include lesbian and gay male experiences as a bounded "topic." How do heterosexual assumptions affect the felt presence of lesbians and gay men within classrooms? Is it a service to heterosexuals to reinforce their taken-for-granted privilege?

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[3] Wendy Martyna, "What Does 'He' Mean? Use of the Generic Masculine," Journal of Communication, 28 (1978): 131-38; Donald G. MacKay, "Prescriptive Grammar and the Pronoun Problem," in Barrie Thorne, Cheris Kramarae, and Nancy Henley, eds., Language, Gender and Society (Rowley, Mass: Newbury House), pp. 38-53. Additional studies of the uses and effects of masculine generics are annotated in Cheris Kramarae, Barrie Thorne, and Nancy Henley, "Sex Differences in Language, Speech and Nonverbal Communication: An Annotated Bibliography," in Thorne, Kramarae and Henley, pp. 174-82.

[4] Martyna, ibid.

[5] Cathryn Adamsky, "Changes in Pronominal Usage in a Classroom Situation," Psychology of Women Quarterly 5 (1981): 773-79.

[6] Ibid., pp. 777-78.

[7] Robert Coles, Privileged Ones (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977).

[8] Donald MacKay, "On the Goals, Principles, and Procedures for Prescriptive Grammar: Singular They," Language in Society 9 (1980): 349-67.

Invisibility and silence are characteristic experiences of subordinated groups, especially in settings created and controlled by those with structural power. Of course, all groups have lively, talking occasions. But in dominant settings like universities, where white, class-privileged men and their subcultures prevail, those not of the entitled categories may experience a particular kind of silence, infused with feelings of not being quite at home, of anxiety, of self-doubt. Adrienne Rich provides a compelling description of this kind of silence:

> Look at a classroom: look at the many kinds of women's faces, postures, expressions. Listen to the women's voices. Listen to the silences, the unasked questions, the blanks. Listen to the small, soft voices, often courageously trying to speak up, voices of women taught early that tones of confidence, challenge, anger, or assertiveness, are strident and unfeminine. Listen to the voices of the women and the voices of the men; observe the space men allow themselves, physically and verbally, the male assumption that people listen, even when the majority of the group is female. Look at the faces of the silent, and of those who speak. Listen to a woman groping for language in which to express what is on her mind, sensing that the terms of academic discourse are not her language, trying to cut down her thought to the dimensions of a discourse not intended for her (for it is not fitting that a woman speak in public); or reading her paper aloud at breakneck speed, throwing her words away, deprecating her own work by a reflex prejudgment: I do not deserve to take up time and space.[10]

Empirical social science studies of classroom interaction underscore Rich's insight. Systematic observations of elementary school classrooms have found that boys tend to make more contributions than girls to classroom discussions and to receive more teacher attention, both positive (praise) and negative (criticism).[11] The problem of "disruptive boys," possibly related to self-fulfulling cycles of teacher expectation, has long been acknowledged. But another recurring situation, which Constantina Safilios-Rothschild calls the "semi-ignored status" of girls in the classroom, has only recently been seen as a problem.[12] As a participant-observer in elementary schools, I have often seen girls who obey the teacher, who work quietly and neatly, who don't take up much space or whisper or talk in class, and who, because of these qualities, are virtually ignored in the give-and-take of the classroom. The spirit of these girls seems muted; some may even be depressed. Teachers usually appreciate the fact that these girls don't make trouble, but rarely query their silence or passivity. They may even use quiet girls as acoustical buffers, seating them next to noisy or distractable children.

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[9] Marilyn Frye, "Assignment: NWSA-Bloomington-1980, Speech on 'Lesbian Perspectives on Women's Studies,'" Sinister Wisdom No. 14 (1980), p. 5. Frye's article is reprinted in Margaret Cruikshank, ed., Lesbian Studies (Old Westbury, N.Y.: The Feminist Press, 1982).

[10] Adrienne Rich, "On Taking Women Students Seriously," in On Lies, Secrets and Silence (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979), pp. 243-44.

[11] See reviews of research in Jere E. Brophy and Thomas L. Good, Teacher-Student Relationships: Causes and Consequences (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974) and in Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, Sex Role Socialization and Sex Discrimination: A Synthesis and Critique of the Literature (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1979).

[12] Safilios-Rothschild, ibid.

The are fewer empirical studies of college than of elementary school classrooms. At all levels of schooling, researchers find significant variation from classroom to classroom. Not all women students are silent, nor do all men students feel free to speak; some studies have found no sex difference in amount of student talk. However, when a statistically significant sex difference has been found, it has thus far always been that in mixed-sex college classes, men students talk more than women.[13] The patterns are complex and vary from study to study. For example, in an observational study of ten college classrooms, David Karp and William Yoels found that in classes taught by men, male students talked three times more than women.[14] In classes taught by women, the rate of female participation increased, but men students still talked 57% and women students 42% of the time. In a study of graduate classes in social work, Virginia Brooks found no sex differences in amount of student talk in classes taught by men, but in classes taught by women, men students spoke significantly more often and longer than women students.[15] In a study of 60 classes, Sarah Sternglanz and Shirley Lyberger-Ficek found no sex differences in student participation in classes taught by women; in classes taught by men, male students more often initiated interaction with the teacher.[16]

These studies were all conducted in four-year colleges and universities, and they take middle-class culture for granted. In Critical Teaching and Everyday Life, a wonderfully provocative book about his experiences as a radical teacher in a community college,

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13. A comprehensive, annotated bibliography of studies of gender and interaction in college classrooms can be found in Sec. V-F-2, "Classroom," in Kramarae, Thorne, and Henley, op. cit. (footnote 3). There is another recurring finding: college classes taught by women tend to have more overall student participation than classes taught by men. This may be partly due to women's more collaborative cultures of talk. While this pattern may be put to good pedagogical use by women teachers who want to create participatory classrooms, it may also entail a double bind. Ann Macke, Laurel Richardson, and Judith Cooke (Sex-Typed Teaching Styles of University Professors and Student Reactions (Columbus: The Ohio State University Research Foundation, 1980) found that students judged women professors to be more likeable and less competent, the more they generated student participation in class. Evaluations of most men professors were not affected by the amount of student participation in their classes. Radical pedagagies assume that the teacher enters with initial authority which needs to be demystified. If a teacher enters the classroom with minimal authority or credibility (which may be especially true of younger women teachers), the challenge becomes more complex. Feminists have begun to rethink the complicated relationships between teaching and authority (for example, see Amy Bridges and Heidi Hartmann, "Pedagogy By the Oppressed," Review of Radical Political Economics 6 (1975): 75-79; Berenice M. Fisher, "Professing Feminism: Feminist Classroom: A Contradiction in Terms?" in Feminist Pedagogy (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Women's Studies Research Center, 1981), pp. 1-9).

14. David A. Karp and William C. Yoels, "The College Classroom: Some Observations on the Meanings of Student Participation," Sociology and Social Research 60 (1976): 421-39.

15. Virginia R. Brooks, "Sex Differences in Student Dominance Behavior in Female and Male Professors' Classrooms," Sex Roles 8 (1982): 683-90.

16. Sarah Hall Sternglanz and Shirley Lyberger-Ficek, "Sex Differences in Student-Teacher Interactions in the College Classroom," Sex Roles 3 (1977): 345-52.

Ira Shor observes that among working-class people, especially men, to talk a lot and with enthusiasm in front of superiors is to be a "brown-nose" or "ass-kisser," "guilty of collaborating with the enemy."[17] On the other hand, rebellious talk might lead the teacher to consider you a trouble-maker. A power struggle surrounds the use of words in work and school institutions, and "there are tense rules and high prices to pay for talking."[18] Shor observes that in his classes, women talk with more ease than men:

> In general, women students find it easier to take public risks by engaging in critical debate. The men are cloaked in a formidable silence, fearing to be proved wrong in their opinions or feelings. Their linguistic style is abrupt and terminal; they are more likely to voice strong conclusions instead of partaking in an evolving dialogue. This kind of reaction is not uniform or universal, but there is a strong male defensiveness against the humiliation of being wrong. Some men have rationalized their withdrawal by saying that women talk and argue all the time. To talk too much is to be silly like a woman. . . . Talking openly and seriously in a group is a statement that you need the others, and the men are reluctant to let on that they need anything from anybody. Their aloofness develops over the years, from hearing how worthless they are, from feeling inadequate in meeting the demands of others.[19]

The meanings of masculinity and feminity, and of speech and silence, may vary along lines of class and race. Vicky Spelman has probed the silence of Black women in predominantly white women's studies classes.[20] Black women felt marginalized when white women's experiences were taken as the paradigm, and the experiences of women of color as a source of divergence; they felt marginalized when they were heard and seen en bloc, with minimal attention to variations among them; and they felt marginalized when their opinions were not challenged and they were treated solely as victims rather than as "members of lively communities with rich cultural identities and traditions."[21] Within the classroom, the silence of Black women, like the silence of the working class men Shor describes, may be a form of resistance, a way to avoid becoming even more vulnerable. White women, on the other hand, may refuse to engage in talk that would make their privilege more visible, talk which might, for example, reveal their lack of knowledge of Black cultures. As Vicky Spelman, Audre Lorde, and Helen Washington have each observed, the history and presence of racism are loaded with suppressed anger and mistrust, emotions which may infuse some kinds of classroom silence.[22]

In general, silence may be related to fear of saying the wrong thing or of showing emotions. Students may fear the judgment not only of the teacher, but also of other students, who may seem "frighteningly anonymous or frighteningly well qualified," as a student said in a discussion at Oberlin College. In classrooms generally, silence may be a way to avoid taking risks, to avoid getting involved. In most classrooms a few talkers emerge early in the term, setting up a tacit division of labor. When the teacher

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17. Ira Shor, Critical Teaching and Everyday Life (Boston: South End Press, 1980), p. 72.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., pp. 72-73.
20. Vicky Spelman, "Combatting the Marginalization of Black Women in the Classroom," Women's Studies Quarterly 10 (no. 2, summer 1982): 15-16.
21. Ibid., p. 16.
22. Spelman, ibid.; Audre Lorde, "The Uses of Anger," Women's Studies Quarterly (no. 3, fall 1981): 7-10; Mary Helen Washington, "How Racial Differences Helped us Discover Our Sameness," Ms., Sept. 1981, pp. 60-63.

asks a question, the teacher and the non-talkers may even turn and look at the talkers, expecting and perhaps cueing them to respond.

Feminist pedagogy, like the radical pedagogy Paolo Freire developed for teaching literacy to peasants in Latin America, seeks to break through silence and passivity and to empower subordinated groups.[23] How can one empower students, especially those whose silence may be the accumulation of years of feeling invisible, marginalized, afraid, unable or unwilling to become involved? How can one enhance their sense of presence and of freedom to participate in the classroom? And, turning to the more privileged, how can one reveal and challenge assumptions of entitlement? To discover that one's experience is not the measure of all things, to come to see white, middle-class, male, and heterosexual assumptions as limited and not the universal, and to explore the experiences of other groups are precious forms of learning.

There are no magic classroom solutions to problems of inequality deeply anchored in social and political institutions. But in the process of teaching we can work for equality and the goal of empowerment. Here are an array of specific suggestions drawn from many different sources and people:

Talk About Silence and Emotions

One can raise, as a specific topic, the question of silence and classroom content and process. Last term I opened an undergraduate course on the sociology of sex and gender with a section on feminist recentering of knowledge. I asked students to think about their past educations, and I explained, with specific examples, varied ways in which subordination and entitlement may infuse knowledge and classroom interaction. We discussed Adrienne Rich's essay, "Taking Women Students Seriously," and Mary Helen Washington's evocative article on racial dynamics in a women's studies classroom.[24] Many of the students had already pondered their own biographies of classroom speech and silence. For example, one woman said in a reticent tone, "I talked a lot in high school, but when I talked in one of my first college classes, the professor and the other students just blew it away, so I haven't talked much since." Another said her classroom silence had come to feel like a "shroud," from which she was determined to break free.

We also read Audre Lorde's essay, "The Uses of Anger," and talked about connections between thinking and passion, especially feeings of anger.[25] Last year when I taught an interdisciplinary course called "Women's Situation," we went around the room and each student explained why she or he was taking the course. Many of them talked about anger: "I feel angry about my experience as a woman, and I want to know why"; "I'm a biology major, and I'm in a continual state of rage at the way I'm treated"; "I want to learn about women's studies, but I don't want to feel angry"; "feminists' anger makes me feel defensive as a man." We discussed sources of anger, the risks of getting angry, ways anger can be misdirected but also provide information, spirit, and energy, relationships between anger and social change, anger and hate, and anger as both paralyzing and leading to action. The course was enhanced by making emotions explicit.

Notice Everyday Details of Interaction

One can cultivate the habit of noticing the details of interaction in the classroom. (I recommend two good sources for sharpening one's eyes and ears: The Classroom

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[23] Paolo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Herder & Herder, 1972).
[24] Rich, op. cit. (footnote 10); Washington, op. cit. (footnote 22).
[25] Lorde, op. cit. (footnote 22).

Climate: A Chilly One for Women? by Robert A. Hall and Body Politics: Power, Sex and Nonverbal Communication by Nancy Henley.[26])

Notice the language of space, of high and low, of fixed seats vs. a rectangular or round table, of where different students sit. Structures of power and participation can be altered by stepping away from a podium and moving closer to the class, by moving chairs from rows and into a circle, by the teacher's sitting on the side rather than at the end of a rectangular table. Patterns of seating affect patterns of talking. Large classes pose enormous barriers to comfortable discussion, but there are ways to enhance participation. Watch your angle of vision in a large classroom. Students at the front and up the center have been found to be more visible and more likely to talk. You can share this observation with students and ask them to rotate where they sit, to feel what it's like in different parts of the classroom. When you reach an evocative point in a lecture, pause and ask students to discuss the issues with a neighbor for ten minutes. Then draw the class back together and ask them to brainstorm the results. (I always explain that brainstorming is an associative process to get ideas out, with minimal accountability for what one says.)

Notice the language of eye contact, which helps regulate talk. A teacher in a liberal arts college told me that a class discussion of Freire opened the topic of participation patterns in their own classroom; several students observed that men talked more than women. One student suggested that this was partly due to the teacher's habit of looking at men students when she asked a question. Eye contact can invite, and eye aversion can discourage, participation in talk.

Another detail to notice: the construction of turn-taking and the organization of the floor of talk. Lee Jenkins interviewed 77 Latina/o, Black, Asian American, and Native American students about their experiences in classrooms at San Francisco State University.[27] They told her they were reluctant to participate in classroom discussions when faculty didn't really listen, ignored the speaker's content, interrupted or cut them off, treated them patronizingly or with contempt, or acted surprised when they did well. On the other hand, they were encouraged to participate when teachers called on them by name, offered encouragement in facial expressions and nonverbal gestures, and gave them time to respond. They were also more likely to participate when the course included materials from their cultures, although they didn't like to be singled out as spokespersons for their ethnic groups.

Native American, Latina, and Asian American students, especially women, mentioned cultural prescriptions against speaking up which carried over to the classroom. But they also felt that faculty, perhaps because of stereotypes of the quiet Asian or the silent Indian, did not expect them to participate, so they did not.

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26. Roberta Hall, The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women? Available for $3 from the Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R St., NW, Washington, D.C., 20009; Nancy Henley, Body Politics (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Spectrum, 1977). Another useful source: Mercilee M. Jenkins, Removing Bias: Guidelines for Student-Faculty Communication, part of Judith M. Gappa and Janice Pearce, Sex and Gender in the Social Sciences, available for $7.50 from the Speech Communication Association, 5105 Backlick Road, Suite E, Annandale, VA 22003.

27. Mercilee M. Jenkins, "Guidelines for Cross-Cultural Communication Between Students and Faculty," Speech Communication Department, San Francisco State University, 1983.

Familiar classroom rituals of talk—the tacit rules that one person speaks at a time, that turns should be requested by a raised hand, that there should be minimal response as a person speaks—fit more closely with white, middle-class, Protestant, male, than with other speaking cultures. In Black and White Styles in Conflict, Thomas Kochman notes that Black students may feel more comfortable speaking out in class rather than raising their hands and waiting for a turn to speak.[28] In Afro-American culture, talk is often organized in quick exchanges rather than sequences where people hold forth, at length, one at a time. As Jenkins points out, by ignoring students who "speak out of turn," we may extinguish participation without realizing it.[29]

Rules for talk in college classrooms are anchored in male, as well as white and upper-middle-class, subcultures. Talk among women (to generalize in a way which wrongly suspends class and ethnic variation) tends to be more collaborative and participatory than talk among men. For example, compared with men, women do more "interaction work" (head nods, saying "mmhmm," asking questions to draw out the speaker).[30] Women are also more likely to build upon than to contest one another's comments, to share personal experiences, and, in general, to regard conversation as "a cooperative enterprise, as a mutually constructed product for common interest."[31] As a result, as Paula Treichler and Cheris Kramarae have insightfully argued, the competitive verbal jousting, the continual marking of hierarchies, the efforts to wield control, the declarations of fact and opinion which one finds more often in all-male groups—and in college classrooms—may be especially alienating to women.[32]

By virtue of their role, teachers have enormous power to shape and control the conversational structure of the classroom, to open up or monopolize the floor, to throw it to one person rather than another, to interrupt and take the floor back, to restructure the very nature of the floor. You can give up some of that power, inviting students to shape the rules of talk; you may also use that power to enhance participation. Invite students to help figure out the tacit rules of classroom talk and to devise ways to encourage more participation. For example, after alerting students to notice the silent and to share responsibility for helping everyone feel at ease, open the floor and let people speak without being called upon, or implement a rule that the last person who speaks gets to choose the next speaker. You can talk privately to students who are always silent and ask if there are ways you can help bring them to speech. I made a pact with one student that I would try to be especially sensitive to cues that she had something to say (facial expressions, a clearing of throat, a shift in body posture), and that I would try to call on her, to help her readiness break through her hesitation.

The constructive silence of listening takes work and attention. You can encourage students to draw one another out, to invite and refer back to one another's comments, to ask questions as well as making statements, to generally be aware of the effect they have on one another, e.g., through nonverbal expressions of support or impatience. Help students prepare for an upcoming discussion by providing questions for them to think about or by asking them to prepare discussion questions or summaries of readings.[33]

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[28] Thomas Kochman, Black and White Styles in Conflict (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1981).

[29] Jenkins, op. cit.

[30] Pamela Fishman coined the term "interaction work" in "Interaction: The Work Women Do," in Thorne, Kramarae, and Henley, op. cit. (footnote 3), pp. 89-102.

[31] Sally McConnell-Ginet, "The Origins of Sexist Language in Discourse," unpublished paper, Dept. of Linguistics, Cornell University, 1982, p. 10. For a review of research on talk among women see Barrie Thorne, Cheris Kramarae, and Nancy Henley, "Language, Gender and Society: Opening a Second Decade of Research," in Thorne, Kramarae, and Henley, op. cit. (footnote 3), pp. 7-24.

[32] Paula A. Treichler and Cheris Kramarae, "Women's Talk in the Ivory Tower," Communication Quarterly 31 (1983): 118-32.

Notice your pattern of calling on students. On whom do you call, and in what sequence? Do you change your tone of voice when you speak to different students, and if so, how and why? Do you call some students by name, and just point to others? Which names do you know? A few years ago when I was teaching a lecture class of 100 students, I discovered, to my horror, that I knew all of the men's names and fewer of the names of women students (part of my horror was that this was a women's studies class). There were fewer men, so they were more visible. But I also discovered a pattern: I hadn't learned the names of those I clustered into a stereotype of the nice, smiling, silent woman student. I discovered my stereotype when one of the nameless women came to my office hours and said she hoped to go to medical school. I was surprised, and then asked myself why I was surprised and why I had never learned her name.

I try to encourage students to feel visible and acknowledged from the beginning of the term, creating a context where people have names and distinctive identities.[34] Everyone can wear name tags or place a United Nations type of name sign in front of them during class. Beginnings are important; if one doesn't talk at the start of the term, chances are slim one will talk later. Creative forms of self-introduction allow everyone to be heard at the start. In a course on women and work we opened with a round of introductions; each student described her own history of work (part-time, full-time, and summer jobs, including babysitting and housework), and then her mother's and her grandmother's work histories. The introductions brought concrete examples of historic changes and social class and ethnic variations in women's work; it also made student diversity more visible. We returned to these examples throughout the term. In my class on the sociology of childhood we each described ourselves in second grade: where we lived, the nature of our households and friendships, memories of what happened in schools and neighborhoods.

Noticing opens the path to action. And our actions, I believe, should be geared to the goal of empowering those who have been socially subordinated, and ending relations of inequality in as well as outside of the classroom. Nancy Hartsock makes an important distinction between power as domination and a feminist definition of power as energy, effective interaction, working together, and empowerment.[35] The feminist challenge is to develop forms based on this alternative vision as a way of transforming institutions based on domination.

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[33] Useful suggestions for teaching students the skills of discussion can be found in Nancy Schniedewind, "Feminist Values: Guidelines for a Teaching Methodology in Women's Studies," The Radical Teacher #18 (1982): 25-28, reprinted in Charlotte Bunch and Sandra Pollack, eds., Learning Our Way: Essays in Feminist Education (Trumansburg, N.Y.: The Crossing Press, 1983), pp. 261-71; and in William Fawcett Hill, Learning Thru Discussion (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publishing, 1977).

[34] Schniedewind, ibid., provides many excellent suggestions for working towards this goal.

[35] Nancy Hartsock, "Political Change: Two Perspectives on Power," in Quest Staff and Book Committee, eds., Building Feminist Theory (New York: Longman, 1981), pp. 3-19.

This vision can be realized in the classroom, as illustrated by Mischa Adams' description of the transformation of a graduate seminar.[36] During the first few sessions women were relatively silent; they had difficulty entering the rapid freeway of talk between the professor and most of the men students. The talkers controlled the floor through mutual eye contact, throwing the floor only to one another, and a rapid pace of mutual challenging and interruption. The silent students (all of the women, and a few of the men) gathered outside of class, analyzed the patterns, and set out to change them, not by adopting the dominant discourse (barging onto the freeway with interruptions and challenging), but by empowering one another and changing the course of talk. They arrived early and sat in a way in which diffused eye contact around the group. They built on one another's comments in the discussion, giving the mutual gift of interaction work (head nods and other signals that one is listening; questions to draw out the speaker); they invited the silent to speak. Rather than overvaluing and imitating the dominant style (monopoly of turn space, interruptions, topic control), they used collaborative patterns to draw in and empower more participants. The teacher, by the way, soon noticed that something had changed; the shift in classroom climate, and the students' explanation of what had happened, led him to rethink his mode of teaching.

We are involved in a long process of rethinking and revising the curriculum and the ways we teach. Above all, the process involves taking all peoples seriously and urging them to take themselves seriously. This may be especially important for women, whose oppression often takes the form of being trivialized, laughed at, sexualized, called "girl," defined by their appearance instead of their minds, told they have no serious future other than being a wife or mother. This kind of treatment—amply documented in the settings of higher education—mutes the spirit, diminishes self-esteem, and drains aspirations. I believe one of the greatest gifts a teacher can give is to help others find a sense of agency in their lives.

*This paper began as a talk given in various incarnations at the Claremont Colleges Conference on Women's Studies and a Balanced Curriculum (February 1983), at the Great Lakes Colleges Association Women's Studies Conference (November 1983), and at Carleton College, Oberlin College and Northeastern Illinois University in January and February 1984. Discussions on all of these occasions greatly enriched what I finally wrote. I would also like to thank Cheris Kramarae, Nancy Henley, Lee Jenkins, Roberta Hall, Beverly Purrington, Mischa Adams, Kay Trimberger, and Bettina Aptheker for their contributions and inspiration.

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[36] Mischa B. Adams, Communication and Gender Stereotype, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of California, Santa Cruz, 1980.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

BLACK STUDIES/WOMEN'S STUDIES: POINTS OF CONVERGENCE*

Johnnella E. Butler, Smith College

Fourteen years ago my first teaching job was in an English Department, teaching American and Afro-American Literature. A few months later, I found myself coordinating the Black Studies Program. A few years later, I found myself chairing an Afro-American Studies Department. My mother had taught me, in her own way, and my father in his, that, as Audre Lorde says, "The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house."[1] However, I thought I had the tools, or at least I and people like me, who thought like me, were developing the tools that could take apart the nuts and bolts of the master's house. Then we could build a house that would reflect all of humanity, and it would be a different structure entirely. Well, after trying very hard, we Black Studies people found out that our tools dismantled a lot of the facade and dislodged some of the bricks. However, we certainly could not dismantle the house. Our tools did not fit the nuts and bolts. After a few years, we decided to talk to a few others in Women's Studies who were trying to dismantle the house. I and my colleagues had not trusted them too much because we knew they had helped the master build the house and had worked to keep it running smoothly. I observed, however, that they were very serious about taking this house down. They had removed some vital parts—something we had not come near doing. Nonetheless, they were very frustrated, for it seemed they were failing to dismantle any more of the house. I respected their energy and began to talk with them. I learned that some of their workers were using their tools to rebuild what had been taken down—just as some of ours had. Finally, one of them and I decided to gather together some of our colleagues to try to figure out if we could combine our tools, maybe even make a new set of tools with our combined knowledge.[2]

We met for long and trying hours. As it turned out, we Black Studies people knew more than they about the part of the structure they had tried to dismantle. They knew little of what we wanted to, needed to dismantle. And they argued that much of what we found detestable should remain. But if we took it apart together, they could weaken the structure so it could collapse. They, as white women, could weaken it in a way we couldn't, for they could change the ways in which, by their relationships among themselves, between them and the master, and between them and us, they helped maintain the foundation and the frame of the structure. (Mostly, we argued, because some Black Studies people did not respect Women's Studies' reasons for wanting to dismantle the house. Some of their group insisted on trying to reshape the tools our group had developed that worked. They felt that we needed too much of their space to use those tools—never mind that our tools were effective, especially when used with some of their tools.) Mostly, we talked at each other, not hearing or changing. We did, however, begin to get used to being together and trying.

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[1] Audre Lorde, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House," in Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua, This Bridge Called My Back (Watertown, Mass.: Persephone Press, 1981), pp. 98-101.

[2] F.I.P.S.E. Grant, 1981-83, Black Studies/Women's Studies Faculty Development Project. Johnnella Butler and Margo Culley (University of Massachusetts), co-directors. The grant consisted of twenty faculty participating in seminars and developing courses around issues of Black Studies and Women's Studies.

My parable has to end here, because we—you and I, Women's Studies and Black Studies—haven't figured out how to get beyond talking at one another. We have made alliances, in some cases, that are held together more by individual and personal friendships than by solid academic, political, and social interacting. We, as women and as people whose rights are denied, sense our commonalities; we hesitate to recognize our differences. The few that do recognize our differences and contradictions find it awkward to talk them through, for the Western thinking process tells us that differences and contradictions are not good, are destructive—that they cannot create or function as a working whole. Yet, in order to dismantle this master's house, an exaggeration of Western thought, you have to understand me, an Afro-American woman. I have to let you see me and know me. I have to allow for your struggle not to conform to your old behaviors. And you must accept my assertions of myself, of who I am. We must demand the truth of each other, no matter how painful.

Given this, how then do I talk about pedagogy, in the way that I have been asked to talk about it? What do I have to offer, working with and in Women's Studies firmly grounded in Black Studies? What can Black Studies contribute to Women's Studies' approaches to scholarship, to Women's Studies' ways of teaching?

Yes, I and others like me, other women of color, should be here. We not only have much to contribute but also have much to learn. You can teach me a lot about the master's house, the subtle workings of it that you know about because you have considerable stock in it. We can teach you about the effects of the master's house, how its maintenance and being affects those outside it or those outsiders who work in it. For you to become aware of the wealth of your knowledge, however, you must divest yourself of the privileges and values of your whiteness, as Marilyn Frye and Bettina Aptheker argue;[3] you must become an outsider working in that house to destroy it. For me to become aware of the wealth of my knowledge, I must understand fully my role as outsider, and I must share that knowledge with you. I, as a Black woman, must divest myself of any illusions I may have of sharing in the privilege and values of whiteness.[4] We both must divest ourselves of all those things that allow us to maintain either our privilege or our illusions of sharing in privilege. That means racism has to be eliminated. It not only keeps you and me from a productive dialogue, but also it is one of the cornerstones of the foundation of the master's house. Its companion cornerstones are sexism, classism, and ethnocentrism.

"I know this already," you may be thinking. "But what does work on Black Studies pedagogy have to offer feminist pedagogy and the learning climate that exists, or feminist pedagogy and a changed learning climate that we all envision?"

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[3] See Bettina Aptheker, Woman's Legacy (University of Massachusetts, 1982) and Marilyn Frye, "On Being White," in The Politics of Reality: Essays in Feminist Theory (N.Y.: Crossing Press, 1983).

[4] For example, many young Afro-Americans have had the aspiration of becoming President. But in time, they discover that this is an illusion which has to be abandoned.

Neither Women's Studies nor Black Studies can offer each other anything that will produce a pedagogy and a learning climate that rids us of racism, sexism, classism, and ethnocentrism as long as they remain separate entities, each claiming that their goals and objectives will transform academia and human life substantially. To target racism or sexism and maybe classism, or even racism and sexism and maybe classism, is insufficient. I say "maybe classism" because, unfortunately, many of us do not deal with classism.

The question is, "What do Black Studies and Women's Studies have to offer toward the end of a pedagogy and a learning climate that allows for the fullness of humanity to be exercised not only in our educational institutions but also in our larger society?" If we build a pedagogy—or a literary criticism, a historiography, etc., for that matter—on a perception of self and the world as anti-human, then we will only live with momentary illusions of ridding ourselves of racism, sexism, and classism. If we say that reading as an Afro-American will free the text or illuminate the text fully for everyone, or that reading as a woman will free the text or illuminate the text fully for everyone, then we miss the boat. But, if Women's Studies and Black Studies each in its own way identifies the dominant oppressive cultural sensibility, then we're at least on the pier. To catch the boat, we have to, then, simultaneously explore fully the content, form and process of women's and Afro-Americans' sensibility, while we seek to understand how, with their interaction, these sensibilities can be transformed to create guidelines or parameters for perceiving and ultimately acting out of the context of a human sensibility. Mark you, I said "guidelines or parameters" and not "standards or criteria." This sensibility would have norms derived from the complexity of human experience: racially, culturally, sexually, economically, intuitively, rationally, individually, and communally. It would not be ethnocentric, as the terms "standards" and "criteria" unfortunately currently imply. Also, "standards" and "criteria," as used today, suggest an hierarchal arrangement of values which insists upon a dominant view. To understand and perceive humanness within the context of, let's say, artistic guidelines and parameters, we are allowing for variations and differences to compose a complex whole that operates in and reflects interchangeable levels and types of experience. But I'm getting ahead of myself.

Ways of thinking, ways of describing the world, and ways of being in the world that we most frequently define as archaic, or primitive, still function in transformation as they have encountered time and Western culture. African traditional thought has syncretized in the New World to produce, for example, West Indian culture, Haitian culture, Brazilian culture, Afro-Brazilian culture, Cuban culture, and Afro-American culture, etc. We are hampered, among other ways, in our perception of this fact by the geographical definitions we give to these places and people and by our own simplistic reduction of everything to the racial. Asian traditional thought or world view (what we reduce to a monolith called Eastern thought) is in the process of syncretizing with the complexity of what we call American, through the Japanese American, Chinese American, Korean American, Filipino American, Vietnamese American, etc. The Native American religious traditions and world view are, in some instances, the most inaccessible to what we call American culture because of the history of American Indian persecution. However, those traditions are slowly being syncretized through the Chicano population as well as the Native American population. I could go on with the Puerto Rican, the Afro-Puerto-Rican, the West Indian Caribbean immigrant. What we have here, in this nation—in this population that Women's Studies has come to understand it must recognize and include, and that Black Studies has come to understand complicates the question of what is American—what we have are Euro-Americans of various European-based ethnic backgrounds, an Anglo-American ethnic-value dominance, and people of color, of varying types and degrees of color, who share some combination of the Euro-

American, Afro-American, Native American, Asian American, and Hispanic American ethnicities. Note well the complexities of those whose ethnic sensibility is based on both a European continuum and an African or Asian continuum. Note, for example, the complexity of the Afro-American whom we identify in racial terms as Black but who is from the United States of America, the English-speaking West Indies, the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, etc.; or of the Asian Americans who, we often glibly say, "all look alike" yet who are from different cultural traditions within that large cultural sensibility we call Asian; or of the Hispanic Americans, as we call them, who may have a European (other than Anglo) and African cultural tradition, a Native American plus European tradition, or a predominantly European tradition.

What becomes abundantly clear when we take these traditions within American society and their complex cultural realities seriously is that the world view that we call Western has political and military hegemony in the world. In addition, views which we deem as Westerners as archaic, Third World, underdeveloped—views that we call African, Asian, and Native American—are shared by a majority of the world's people. These world views are in considerable conflict with the technologically-centered world view of the West. Within ethnic groups in the United States, this conflict manifests itself in cultural dualities, composed of parts Euro-American based—more precisely Anglo-American based—and either Afro-American, Asian-American, Native-American or Hispanic-American based.[5] The sensibilities of the latter are in many ways diametrically opposed to those of the former, given the way we order the world and order our thinking.

Of all these traditions of people of color in the United States, in the academic arena Black Studies is presently the most fully developed. Based on the adventure of Blackness, or Africanness with Western culture, to paraphrase the late literary critic George Kent,[6] Black Studies can offer to Women's Studies, and ultimately to the transformation of the academy, methodology and ways of thinking that allow for aesthetic criteria that are not hierarchally ordered, norms for human behavior that are not ethnocentric, racist, or classist, a truly interdisciplinary scholarship. We must, furthermore, not be ultimately concerned with creating a woman-centered world or an Afro-American or Black-centered world, but rather a human-centered world. Asian-American Studies and Native American Studies can also offer this different means to the same end, for the African, Asian, and Native American sensibilities share certain basic commonalities. I will briefly outline those commonalities and then discuss specifically the change in world view that Black Studies offers. What becomes clear is that Women's Studies, which is rooted in the Western sensibility, is limited by its very nature to transform academia. Implicit in my discussion and its presentation for further refinement and expansion is my belief that Afro-American or Black Studies, by analogy to the academic world, will never dismantle the master's house alone but only through the assistance and concerted efforts of other people of color, and most essentially, of white Americans who hold the power of privilege and cultural hegemony.

Now for the essential commonalities among the African, Asian and Native American traditions. Each stresses in its own way that the individual defines the community and the community defines the individual. Rather than "cogito, ergo sum," an analogous motto would say: I am because we are. Because we are, I am.[7] For all these traditions, matter and spirit comprise reality. Opposites function together as a whole. Self-knowledge is the basis of all knowledge, and one knows through symbol. In these societies, either sound or silence unlocks the state to which all aspire. This happens, for example, through visions, religious experiences, through speaking in tongues. For beings and reality that can't be seen, the vehicle is the human mind. In the African tradition, sound unlocks this state—the drum relates to the earth, musical instruments and chants can be used to evoke that state. In the Afro-American context, the ring-shout, high notes in gospel songs, the call response in the church, evoke that state. Afro-American world view is apparent, for example, in the Black church rituals, folk tales (urban, rural, old, and contemporary), the spirituals, the blues, children's games, rhythms, jazz, speech.

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[5] It may be argued that pluralities exist in ethnic groups. However, that is not the case. Italian Americans view themselves culturally as such in the same way that Afro-Americans view themselves as African Americans culturally. It is only within the larger nation-state context that we find plurality which is an aggregation of the dualities within ethnic groups.

[6] See George Kent, Blackness and the Adventure of Western Culture (Chicago: Third World Press, 1972), p. 166.

Basic to African and Afro-American world view is what Dixon and Foster[8] call a diunital approach, a both-and approach as opposed to an either-or approach. Reality, then, which is both of matter and spirit, holds

> instances of apparent antagonism of coexisting theses and antitheses which may ultimately create a synthesis while simultaneously instances of inherent antagonism may (ultimately) result in a diunital union of opposites. . . . This both/and approach, which allows for both synthesis and unification for both the dialectical and diunital approaches, corresponds to Paulo Freire's world view in that dialogue explores the opposite word and allows for generative themes to evolve and be explored, bounced off one another, and evolved into transformations of reality with the points of unity and diversity ever increasing and decreasing, expanding or diminishing at various points in time.[9]

Freirean approaches to pedagogy embody a student-teacher-content dialogue through employing a both/and approach to problems posed by the subject content. Then generative thinking can occur, and learning and ideas will flourish. Employing a diunital approach, it becomes clear that community may be defined by and composed of many facets; ethnicity and cultural differences become possible to be understood and built upon; the interrelationships among the traditional disciplines seem simply logical, and interdisciplinary becomes unidisciplinary; the history of communities is balanced by the history of individuals and the history of individuals becomes balanced by the history of communities. What human beings think about their environment and how they shape it becomes the focus rather than how the environment shapes human beings. We begin to ask, "How would my discipline change if it were to reflect the existence of women as more than one-half the world's population as well as the various cultural, racial, class and gender approaches people have to life in the context of that discipline?" We would then redefine categories, redefine eras, chronologies, artistic expression. We would become "human-centered," which demands the complexity of all the colors of the spectrum being viewed as one, the complexity of thinking in a both/and fashion.

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[7] See John Mbiti, African Religions and Philosophies (New York: Anchor, 1970).

[8] See Vernon J. Dixon and Badi G. Foster, Beyond Black or White (New York: William Morrow, 1971).

[9] See Johnnella E. Butler, Black Studies: Pedagogy and Revolution (Washington: University Press of America, 1981), p. 101. The quotation continues: ". . . If indeed the observations of Levy-Bruhl as to the both/and approach being common to all mankind are to be viewed as borne out by the research of psycholinguists Goodman and Smith, which indicates a both/and (fusion of feeling and intellect) approach to teach reading in order to build on the familiar and encourage comprehension, then liberation is the freeing of the mind to act according to its inherent both/and approach."

This is only a sketch of the basis and the expansions of this approach which forms the foundation of the pedagogy and methodology of Black Studies. Incidentally, the negation of the BOTH/AND possibility—that one cannot be racially and culturally of both African and Euro-American descent, that, to be logical and correct, I must value one over the other or accept only the culturally dominant Euro-American—is central to the oppression of Black Americans.

I have outlined a way that Women's Studies can expand from a white women's studies to women's studies. It must divest itself of its native thought system which does not allow for differences and opposites to exist. Its practitioners must learn to function as whole people and yet be marginal to their native cultural hegemony. We must accept the fact and work with the fact that norms for families, for example, are based on both Euro-American values and other traditional values. We must accept the syncretism of these values and we must ferret out those interactions that war against human potential. We must be able to immerse ourselves in the complexities, the contradictions, and negatives, the positives, and see them as an interrelated whole in order to understand the particular.

How do we begin to transform the liberal arts curriculum? We bring to bear on it analyses from the point of race, gender, class, and culture. In bringing together Black Studies and Women's Studies, we find that we must reconstruct the past; redefine ourselves; extricate our norms from the illusions and deceptions of history; destroy cultural hegemony and cultural submission, racism and classism and gender discrimination; recreate identities based on liberated norms.

In the context of the relevancy of Black Studies to Women's Studies, and to the liberal arts tradition for that matter, a profound change has to occur. If you are teaching Black literature, including Black women in your social analysis, the cultural norms of that literature and of that analysis are not apparent. If the scholarship has been done, it is ignored. You must know the debates, the development of scholarship that illuminates Black family structure or an Afro-American literary tradition, before you can talk about families or Afro-American literature. Much interfacing has to be done, much reformulation and redefinition of chronologies of disciplines.

In the classroom you have got to allow for the tension to exist that arises when, for example, WASP students discover the lie they've been told—that they are just American, the norm, and not that theirs is an ethnicity that holds power. Students in a course that I team-teach, Philosophy and Women, identified certain realizations that they had come to through attempting dialogue with one another on issues of feminism. The group was racially, ethnically, and class mixed, and it struggled in microcosm to achieve the dialogue we seek between Women's Studies and Black Studies. The students' realizations were:

1. We cannot assume that friendship, or the desire for friendship, will bring about either knowledge or transformation.

2. Good intentions are important but are not sufficient to help move beyond the guilt when a person confronts the fact that she/he may belong by birth and color to an oppressive group. Guilt encourages inertia rather than responsible action.

3. Recognizing and understanding cultural differences does not hinder growth. Cultural differences prevent growth when they are made into deficits and benefits, thereby forming the basis for structural inequalities.

4. Insisting that we are all human and implying that we are color-blind and not culture-bound or class-bound does not lead to cooperation and understanding, because societal restrictions and our history do not allow us to act in human ways toward one another without a concerted effort.

5. Each of us must recognize the ease of falling back into the system.

6. Beliefs are not easily changed. To do so involves a carefully concerted process that encourages people to think critically.

7. We cannot assume that people are well-meaning or that mutual trust is a given. Our society does not encourage mutual trust. Trust must be worked for.[10]

Underlying these realizations are the points of convergence between Black Studies and Women's Studies: the search for a world view that allows for differences to be complementary rather than repellent; the search for a basis for communication; the search for knowledge, not for the maintenance of an elegant order but for the genuine understanding of human diversity.

We in Black Studies and Women's Studies are engaged in a journey which at times seems non-directional and non-linear. Direction and linearity are not to be craved, although they produce an apparent order and a sense of comfort. For most of us, we do not have as yet the knowledge for a "true order" to exist. The idea of a "true order" is obviously utopian. However, it is the nature of humanity to strive for ideals. Therefore, the ideal for which we are striving in Women's Studies and Black Studies is the absence of oppression, or stated in another way, the establishment of a plural, tolerant and equitable society.

In the face of clearly discernible, massive oppression, we are at a great distance from the approximation of "true order." Therefore, Women's Studies and Black Studies should not be concerned that we are in the process of establishing and defining norms and values. What we are engaged in is a long journey toward understanding the diversity within and complexities of Women's Studies and Black Studies both as separate and combined entities. We are working toward the end of understanding the diversity of the human universe in order to create a more humane world.

*Portions of this article will appear in Women's Place in the Academy: Transforming the Liberal Arts, by Marilyn Schuster and Susan Van Dyne. Forthcoming 1985, Rowman and Allanheld, New Jersey.

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[10] This course is co-taught with Elizabeth Spelman of the Philosophy Department, Smith College.

SEEKING FEMINIST TRANSFORMATION OF THE SCIENCES AND THE TEACHING OF SCIENCE

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Feminist criticism of science has not focused on an evaluation of the teaching goals in the sciences nor on an application of feminist pedagogy to them. Criticism, analyses, and worshops have been directed to the male hierarchical structure of science and how women fare in it and to the political nature of research (gender-oriented research in particular) which has served to reinforce the societal status of oppressed and privileged groups (i.e., Tobach and Rosoff, 1978-1983; Ehrenreich and English, 1979; Hubbard et al., 1979; Arditti et al., 1980; The Woman Researcher Annual Conference, Western Michigan University). A few have focused on the male basis for the nature of science itself (i.e., Fee, 1981; Keller, 1982; and "Feminism and Science" Workshop, Denison University, 1982). Reaction and change in response to this feminist criticism has been slow and relegated to the less capitalistically influenced sciences such as anthropology, sociology, and psychology. The more profit-oriented sciences such as physics, chemistry, and biology are least vulnerable to feminist criticism, and little or no change has been evident there. How and what we learn in the science classroom is critical for the continued maintenance of the white male-oriented science machine, and it is in the domain of the classroom where change in the sciences can be firmly established. This is further evident in the fact that few scientists (Rogers, 1969) themselves have seriously critiqued the teaching of science. The directive, then, for feminist teachers of science is to develop teaching methodologies which will access critical consciousness and critical thinking in both teacher and student, and to develop course content which is interdisciplinary. The intent of this paper is to elaborate on specific methods and the rationale for them as they apply to science and feminism.

Questions which I wish to consider are:

1. What is lacking in the traditional teaching mandate for the sciences?
2. What feminist pedagogical methods or approaches would transform the learning of science and eventually the relationship of science to capital and society?
3. What would a course for science majors be like if feminist pedagogy and goals were applied extensively?

The pedagogical mandate for the sciences and for education in general in the United States is best described as the banking concept. Paulo Freire in Pedagogy of the Oppressed and Carl Rogers in Freedom to Learn critique this approach. The banking concept is rooted in capitalism: investment is made in a factory which produces a product resulting in profit. In education it is characterized by some very familiar patterns:

a. Teachers are the transmitters of knowledge while students are the receivers of knowledge. Teachers talk (monologue) while students listen passively.

b. Teachers think, students are thought about (i.e., students are objects).

c. Teachers choose the program content and enforce it while students comply and accommodate it.

d. Teachers determine the quality and standard of student accomplishment and the rigor of science. Students memorize, learning to express "facts" and other ideas well for exams, etc. This type of economically efficient education tends to be elitist and exclusive because of its hierarchical and competitive pedagogical style and its differential psychological impact on the learners. What is frequently lacking is a cooperative atmosphere, an interdisciplinary perspective, and use of primary source material. What is generally never found is dialogue between students, where they learn from one another and where the teacher is facilitator as well as learner. Also seldom found is student input to course content and standards. Because students are oppressed in the sense that they have little power in the banking-type classroom, the learning also is not empowering. Thus, students are unable to recognize their oppression as such, even though they are aware of feelings of frustration and fear, and the knowledge and tools they gain from their courses only reinforce accommodation of oppression (or more specifically of the science machine) rather than reveal the reality of change. The more we adapt, the more easily we can be dominated by patriarchy, capitalism, and mysticism, all of which influence the nature of science today.

An alternative to banking education has been developed and tested by Freire (1968). He terms it problem-posing education, and its aim is to promote critical thinking, that which most educators like to think they develop in students. Critical consciousness allows students to think independently of the teacher and to justify or validate their point of view with logical arguments using accepted criteria of rigor and excellence. This consciousness is not "naive," with one's understanding merely accommodating the past and present, but rather requires an understanding which transforms the subject. According to Freire (1968), explanations and analyses that adjust to the present status quo and do not perceive a more encompassing view are not progressive and therefore cannot be freeing from patriarchy and capitalism. For Freire, true critical consciousness arises from becoming aware, an emergence from unawareness. This awareness must be tied to one's own experience in order for one to develop commitment to learning, to self, to society, and ultimately to change what is limiting. Through commitment and critical consciousness a person can realize that she* can actively intervene in reality, resulting in change for her benefit and the benefit of the majority of people. In science the more overtly political ramifications of critical consciousness would be to make science, teaching, and research more hospitable to women and minorities, more humanist in producing research that would be less profit-directed (i.e., dictated by the military, drug companies, and other profit-oriented enterprises which serve themselves), and more serving of the whole human community.

Various aspects of this pedagogy have been described separately and independently by child learning specialists in conjunction with Piaget's learning theory. Feminist ideology is compatible with many of these alternative teaching techniques, and what we might call "feminist" pedagogy (Schniedewind, 1982) reiterates many of the concerns of problem-posing education and identifies other areas, specifically gender-based, for change in the banking concept which will serve to make learning powerful for change.

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*I use "she" and "her" as generic.

The primary objectives of science teaching from a feminist perspective should be the demystification of science and the enabling of students to make changes for an equitable society which functions to serve the populace. Demystification and enabling involve both what is taught (content) and how it is understood (perspective and pedagogy). Content which is interdisciplinary provides a broad understanding of the process and position of science in our society, thus representing a more accurate and realistic understanding/awareness from which students can be critical. The pedagogy by which content is learned can instill power in the individual to act on her awareness through her critical thinking. I will discuss each of these in turn.

Feminist critics of science have revealed the myths of science most strongly. The claim of science to objective knowledge, disinterest, and value neutrality is false and not only protects the practice of interests but reflects the interest of masculine values (Keller, 1982). Remember that modern science has been produced by men, and that science serves the economic and political interests of certain small groups. The subjective plays an important yet unrecognized, unnamed role in how and what questions are studied and how evidence is interpreted (Sherif, 1979). For example, strong bias has been evident in gender-related research such as studies of reproduction, birth control, and intelligence.

The claim and connection of science to power and domination is used to attract persons, particularly white males, into science and medicine. Domination of nature and power of authority have been used to convince the public of the rightness and need to destroy nature to suit corporate profit (i.e., Dinnerstein, 1977; Griffin, 1980). Correspondingly, the success of science has played an important role in the idealization of objectivity (attributed to the male) and the correlative devaluation of subjectivity (attributed to the female). Thus women have been excluded from science not only physically but also by the separation of objective and subjective, male and female (Keller, 1983).

The understanding of how science "runs" is crucial to realizing the myth of scientific objectivity and the role that power and domination play in scientific thought and application. Students of science learn how to do experiments, but they are generally not taught the rationale behind the process. Thus scientists know "how to drive a car" but do not understand "how it runs" (Waterman, 1982). The epistemology of science can be reflected in the way we are taught to analyze a research paper. The application of knowledge from other areas of science or philosophy can lead to contemplation of aspects not previously considered, thus producing a new and broader understanding of the problem. From this, new questions are raised and new approaches developed. The result: discovering a new integrated knowledge or what is parallel to Kuhn's "revolutionary science." Philosophers of science have identified two major ways science is accomplished: "normal" and "revolutionary" science. Normal science proceeds by using prevailing paradigms to define a puzzle (e.g., Watson and Crick in genetics*), and results from a more accommodative and naive thinking in Freire's terms. Revolutionary (Kuhn, 1962) or evolutionary (Toulmin, 1972) science changes paradigms or a method or a theory radically (e.g., Mendel, Sutton and Boveri, Avery and McCloud in genetics*).

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*These examples were derived by Margaret Waterman for a seminar given at Baldwin-Wallace College in 1983.

Usually other fields or other subjects of study or other methods not normally considered are brought to bear on the problem, leading to a change in and broadening of a concept. Such revolutionary changes in the course of science require an interdisciplinary or intersubdisciplinary awareness and a valuing of radical ideas which may go against prevailing paradigms. This seeking of other views and willingness to change is essential to Freire's concept of critical thinking.

Thus one of the most powerful ways to demystify the claim to objectivity in science is to bring into the classroom the critical tools of philosophy and history. Within this framework we can ask what makes great science: what standards are used to determine good science, what are the commitments of the discipline, what decisions are made which lead to changes in scientific thought, has change been logical, and what social and political forces have influenced scientific direction? Science can then be seen not as a collection of facts but rather as being in a dynamic state of conceptual change.

Important to bringing about this understanding is for the teacher to remove herself from the position of unquestionable authority, as the knower of scientific facts. The teacher must be clear that the science she espouses is her own understanding and not necessarily the right understanding (e.g., "I understand that. . . " or "I consider that. . .," Rich, 1979). This more realistic conceptualization of science makes science less intimidating for students and can free them to question science more extensively. Simultaneously the teacher can help develop for students an understanding of other forms of bias in science through considering language usage in scientific publications. What are the connotations of descriptive words or names, and in which ways does the language maintain masculine values while excluding others? Why does science tend to promote hierarchical theories rather than interactive models? What "counts" in a scientific argument, and whose or what viewpoints are being sustained and what is being demolished? How do our own commitments to theory bind and blind us to objectivity?

Another major feminist criticism of science has been the exclusion and alienation of women and minorities. The classroom has been one target for blame and the male-dominated hierarchical nature of the profession another.

The patterns of gross discrimination and exclusion of women in the classroom are most familiar to students and faculty. Public airing of harassment and issues of fair treatment in teaching has led to improvements. On the other hand, the more subtle behaviors of faculty and student colleagues in the classroom (Hall and Sandler, 1982)—which serve to silence, alienate, and discourage women and minority students, while at the same time placing additional pressure for performance on male students—have not been publicly identified and therefore students and faculty are unaware of these formidable problems.

A good way to eliminate these subconscious behaviors is for both the teacher and the students to identify these behaviors (e.g., read the Hall and Sandler article) and to observe their occurrence in courses. Discussion of these issues easily leads to an awareness of bias that is closer to home for students and sharpens their ability to distinguish bias in science. Furthermore, women and minorities may have different ways of knowing, learning, and understanding which are not developed or facilitated in the traditional classroom. Our knowledge of this area is minimal and ill-defined. Nevertheless, Carol Gilligan's (1982) limited study has suggested that women mature psychologically in a different pattern than men, and these differences are likely to be important for the education and contributions of white women. Other differences are likely to be found for each minority group and will undoubtedly mean altering pedagogy to better enable these individuals to contribute their full potential and to make science more representative of people. Teachers need to be aware of different cultural patterns which could affect learning and the contribution of genders and minorities differentially (e.g., white students are socialized to respond by raising their hands and waiting for permission to respond, whereas other groups may find spontaneous interaction more familiar).

The lack of correspondence between the science classroom and the profession of science further avails the exclusion of women and minorities because they are not provided the special tools they need to compete within the white male club which is the profession. Realistic aspects of the profession need to be represented in the classroom. These include identifying women and minority scientists and their accomplishments, removing the myth of the lone scientist and promoting learning in groups, developing of pedagogies which access other than white male participation, and representing the reality of scientific process and bias which I have already discussed. By including males and females and minorities together not only will we help the disadvantaged to develop the understanding and tools to compete in science, but white males will be learning to listen, value, and work with others than themselves.

It is important to erase the myth of the lone and brilliant scientist. Science does indeed proceed by collaboration and discussion amongst peers, although it is restricted by competition. Instructing students how to work in groups and to share information, understanding, and questions provides experience which will be essential for their success in the profession. If group learning is stressed in the pedagogy, then competition can be reduced. Collective learning develops individuals' ability to listen and value other input; this sets the stage for collaboration rather than exclusion. However, these strategies most likely are not adequate to guarantee the success of women and, more particularly, of minorities. The barriers which they will face need to be identified and discussed amongst themselves. Informal gatherings of disadvantaged groups and the teacher would provide the unique opportunity to discuss intimidating and restricting attitudes and behaviors prevalent in the work place and at professional meetings, social exclusion within the profession, support networks, how to interview, career goals, and other topics which are usually not named or verbalized within the discipline.

How does one go about applying these pedagogical directives to a science course and moreover to a course for majors? First, a teacher must have strong leadership ability, the ability to instill confidence in the new pedagogical approach. Second, a teacher needs to be secure that her department and administration will not scorn her efforts to experiment.* In my case, I am well received by students and pay close attention to individuals and to class morale. I am also tenured and my department, to its partial credit, believes that what one teaches is one's own business. With this background, and having spent four years considering various aspects of feminist and Freirean pedagogy, I embarked on what for me and my students was a very radical approach to the teaching of a junior/senior course in plant physiology. The course had eight white, middle-class students, of whom two were women and six were men. Seven of the students were biology majors and one male was a music major. My objective was to produce a classroom pedagogy which would be particularly conducive to women, would be educational in feminist principles, and would illuminate science from an interdisciplinary perspective. Because I believe it is essential for feminist education and critical consciousness that students understand how they learn, the class discussed not only the subject matter but also the pedagogy by which they were learning the subject matter.

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*Other concerns for implementing extensive feminist pedagogy in the science classroom include the questionable need for comprehensive coverage of the subject so that students can meet graduate and professional school entrance exams, the considerable time and energy input by the instructor, and the specific differences encountered by women teachers (see Martin, 1982 and 1984).

A major goal of the pedagogy was to develop dialogue amongst the students. Here discussion is most open and learning most significant. This communal approach reduces competition and isolation, while providing skills for collaboration in the profession of science. To do this I needed to reduce the hierarchy between the students and me as teacher, between males and females, and between majors and non-majors. I gave the students power and responsibility to determine course content, standards for evaluation, and pedagogy. But dialogue goes hand in hand with trust, sharing, and cooperation. It is a group effort. Building the trust takes time, and students must be given instruction on how to work together in groups since it is so alien to them in the graded classroom. The students needed to learn to listen, and value what others said, that is, to have respect for each other. Students learned how to listen in a discussion of the differences between listening to find fault or verification, disinterested listening, and listening to learn. Dialogue between myself and the students was developed first by speaking with students as respected individuals. All student comments were positively received and differing opinions with justification were welcomed. This gave each student a sense of identity and sensibility. Gradually I removed myself as leader in the discussion, assuming a position of interpreter and coordinator of dialogue among the students. I directed particular encouragement to women students and those males who were reticent. I openly encouraged the more verbal students to take responsibility to include these colleagues more actively in discussion by addressing questions to them. Discussions about educational and personal experiences were always highly energized and animated, with students easily talking and questioning each other. Discussions about scientific data were much less successful because the students felt themselves to be under the burden of performing for a grade, and discussing topics less familiar to them than their personal experience was difficult.

I began the course with an explanation of the pedagogical principles I wanted to use and my rationale for them. I then had them answer, in a journal, questions about what factors contributed to a good learning experience: What do you value in the classroom situation? What particular classroom incident or course stands out in your mind as being particularly successful for you? What do you view as problematic in the classes you've taken? In what context have you found learning to be the most fun or exciting and found yourself eager to pursue understanding? The journals were used in many classes to record responses to short questions prior to discussion. This process was highly successful in engaging all students and allowed them time to reflect before responding orally. It can also have the added benefit of improving student's writing skills (Palmer, 1983). Time for reflection in and outside of class is necessary for critical thinking; otherwise, students have time only to assimilate.

The discussion about what makes a good learning experience made students aware that for most of them the traditional, passive classroom was not a pleasant environment in which to learn, and they became very excited about how they might change it for themselves in my course. Readings were assigned for the next discussion, the objective of which was to inform students about pedagogy (Freire, 1968), criticism of science education (Rogers, 1969), and the subtle behaviors found in classroom environments which benefit men and discourage women (Hall and Sandler, 1982). The readings and discussion allowed the students to assess the benefits of the pedagogical methods to be used. The students became critically, almost uncomfortably, aware of their oppression in the classroom and how even their own competitiveness reinforced it (e.g., how the tendency of students to put down other students for asking what is deemed a "stupid question" merely serves to silence students and retard learning). Aware of the basic philosophy of pedagogy, students were conscious throughout the course of how they were learning and were prepared to offer suggestions that would improve the learning environment for them. We took time periodically to discuss how the process was working for each student, to identify problems and fears, and to attempt to eliminate them. The removal of factors causing fear in the classroom removed barriers for the voicing of thoughts and thus promoted dialogue. From these discussions the students understood the process, expectations, and goals for the course. Because no "wool was pulled over their eyes" the students were empowered to affect the process.

Another avenue I pursued in order to bring students' experience into the course and to bring the profession of science into the classroom was to discuss what it meant to each student to be a scientist. What was their concept of the profession? What were their expectations? What questions or uncertainties did they have about the profession?

Only original sources were used. No texts were assigned for the course although some were put on reserve for reference. Texts tend to represent science as fact and are essentially conducive to assimilative learning (unless they are used as a resource to the literature). The reality of the scientific experiment is lost because texts rarely discuss the faults or discrepancies of the experiment, the adequacy of the interpretation or questionable bias, much less the factors of the experimental design or why a question was deemed important enough to be pursued. Through the use of primary literature science can be seen in its reality, a dynamic state of questioning and reappraisal. This demystifies the power and authority of science, thus inviting questions from those normally intimidated. Using journal articles, students learned how to analyze a paper and how to formulate questions and consider factors important in experimental design. They developed an understanding of the pitfalls of approach and interpretation, acquired a sense of what makes good science, and saw how science is affected by social values and politics. Through the process, students began to question more and more freely and came to the realization that their questions were just as valid as those a fully trained researcher might ask, and furthermore, that their questions have the potential to alter interpretation and hypotheses. Thus students gained power over the material and became actively engaged in learning it.

The questions we began to examine in the literature were those of my own research. Although students could have raised the first question, I wanted to be sure adequate source material was available locally. Students were guided in how to read, interpret, and analyze a paper, following a process developed by Ann Woodhull and Nancy Goddard at Hampshire College. Students were assigned one paper and asked to read it two times. For the first reading they were to note any terminology which they did not understand and were assured that they were not expected to understand the paper. The queried terminology was gathered, grouped into categories and explained in class. The representation and meaning of data were discussed in the context of the purpose and method of the experiment. For the second reading the students were asked to consider what was fact, assumption, and hypothesis and to look closely at how language was used in the paper. Questions raised in discussion included: What questions would you want to ask the authors? What was left unanswered? Were controls adequate? What other explanations or models could you offer that would fit the results? What experimental designs might test the reverse question or opposing theories? What direct evidence would be necessary to substantiate the explanation or hypothesis? From this discussion a critical review of the work was formulated. After a few papers following this format, students were made responsible for looking up terminology, using reference material in the library, and the entire class period was given over to critique. Questions which arose from analysis of articles were listed on the blackboard, and students decided which ones they wanted to pursue for the next class. I then researched the literature and assigned papers for discussion.

Many areas of plant physiology were covered with this format. The initial question involved the response of roots to gravity (gravitropism). From a study of the role the root cap plays in the response we ventured into the nature of hormone transport, ion movement, the effect of light and photosynthesis, water movement, dynamics of cell wall structure, and effects of the environment on gravitropism. In this process the students learned plant physiology in an integrative way, building knowledge into a story and thinking about the subject matter as a research scientist would. Rather than learning about plant physiology from a topic-by-topic presentation, they learned it through the application of topical material, raised by questions they posed to a research problem. The students realized that questions and research in science are always open-ended. At the same time, I learned from the new questions and perspectives which the students brought to the subject. The questions that were raised brought numerous disciplines to bear on the topic: other sciences, history, philosophy, linguistics and communication, politics, etc. Thus, the students learned how all areas of a field and other disciplines impinge upon and inform how science is done. To expand their knowledge of plant physiology further, each student gave, as a term project, a forty-minute presentation on a question of her choice followed by questions and discussion from the class.

Periodically during the course students were asked to evaluate my performance, their performance, and the course. I did the same and we exchanged evaluations. In this process the course was continually adapted to the needs of the students while they were in the course. Therefore, contrary to most end-of-the-year course evaluations, the students took the evaluation process seriously. Student accomplishments were assessed and discussed by both the student and me. The final grade for the course was agreed upon between us prior to submission to the registrar.

The class was a success. Students gained an unusual interdisciplinary understanding of science in a dynamic format in which their opinions were valued. They were affected by an understanding of how subtle behavior discourages women and by the deeper understanding of their position as students in the classroom. Although the class was difficult and time-consuming for both me and the students, I feel they emerged with abilities and a perspective which will make them more successful in the profession and hopefully better learners and scientists. Indeed, at the end of the course they spoke and thought on the level of high-quality professionals. I had recorded the students' oral presentations and was evaluating performances one day when a member of my department, overhearing the recording, commented on them: he thought it was a professional symposium! The course also demonstrated to me and to the students that non-majors could do science and think scientifically just as well as majors.* Halfway through the course students were participating relatively freely in discussion, including the non-major who was quite dubious at the beginning that he could contribute.

The traditional classroom is essentially a passive one for students. It has been a successful form of education particularly for men and, therefore, undoubtedly holds some value for all learners. We can learn about things which are not related to our direct experience, for example mythology or cultures foreign to our own, and we can learn passively by listening and reading. But such learning does not have the power to change the system in which we find ourselves unless we are able to see how the knowledge informs our own experience and our relationship to the social structure and to all other people. This latter process is an active intellectual enterprise requiring critical consciousness. We must be taught how to do it in the active classroom. This class experience demands energy, confidence, and courage to take risks (to speak one's views, to think) on the part of the student. In this regard female and minority students are more disadvantaged than male students because they are socially rewarded for submissiveness. Passive qualities have made them excel in the passive-rewarding classrooms of grade schools, but higher education tends to reward the more active student. In higher education, then, men excel and women may lose academic potential (Fox and Hesse-Biber, 1984). The feminist active classroom, then, must generate confidence and courage particularly in women and minority students. Furthermore, its objective is to instill feminist ideology (equality, humanism, interdisciplinary perspective, etc.) along with development of skills for critical consciousness. I am not advocating that all college and university classes have the feminist pedagogical principles and methods suggested in this paper. Rather a multiplicity of styles and approaches should be offered in any one department. However, the place of the traditional classroom in science needs to decline, accompanied by an increase in course offerings incorporating feminist pedagogy, for this learning will surely mean a more rapid transformation of science.

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*I think it is essentially disenfranchisement that majors and non-majors are relegated to separate courses at the introductory level and that non-majors, due to prerequisites, are excluded from upper level courses in the sciences. This merely serves to reinforce the myth that only scientists can understand and question science.

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THE LEARNING CLIMATE AND THE NON-TRADITIONAL STUDENT

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If I were a meteorologist and were to tell you that a great change in the climate of our hemisphere was imminent, you would listen intensely in order to learn how to survive. We are not here, of course, to discuss the weather, but to focus on a subject that is affecting higher education in much the same way that a changing climate affects our physical world. I speak of a learning climate for the student over traditional age, and how special classroom strategies can create a climate that nurtures success, rather than one that stifles it.

Demographics of adults returning to higher education persistently remind us that we are involved in a phenomenon of changing enrollment patterns. We are told that by 1990, there will be a decline in the enrollments of traditional-age students and an increase in students over twenty-five. In fact, by the end of the present decade, there will be almost an equal number of traditional and non-traditional age students enrolling in higher education. At least fifty percent of those over twenty-five will be women.[1] While it is important to introduce supportive learning strategies into classrooms for all adult learners, male and female, the learning climate for female re-entry students differs significantly from that for male re-entry students. Currently the classroom climate is a subject of great interest to those who are attempting to show that traditional classroom norms for traditional age students correlate closely to social norms in deferring to male competence. If this is the case for the 18- to 21-year-old female student, consider the consequences for women who have been away from the classroom for a number of years. Picture, if you will, the female student over twenty-five in a conventional classroom climate as we ponder some of her apprehensions and the problems she faces in returning to higher education.

A fairly typical non-traditional student lacks confidence in her ability to perform on an academic level. Her education has been interrupted for ten, twenty, or thirty years, and although she may have worked her way up through the echelons of the corporation, she senses that the world of academe is a different kind of arena, one in which she has not yet won accolades. If she left higher education in the 1950's or 1960's, it is likely that her self-concept is stymied by the social conditioning of that era, which gave little or no credence to women as academic achievers but approved their home-making credentials. Although successful role models of the 1970's and 1980's abound in today's professional world, they have not effected a drastic change in the academic image of the under-achievers of earlier decades. This is not to say that the women who traded diplomas for husbands while still in college are under-achievers by nature, but that they absorbed society's standards from the eras preceding the women's movement. In the current decade, many of these women are in the process of re-evaluating the direction of their lives and some, but not all, are reaching out to education in hope of finding new credentials.

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[1] U.S. National Center for Educational Statistics (Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C., 1982), p. 27.

In addition to a lack of confidence in her ability to succeed academically, the returning woman is inhibited by other obstacles to learning. It is likely that she needs to renew her study skills, and to develop analytical and writing skills pertinent to structured course content. Her mathematical performance is equally apt to be under par, because she grew up in an era when females were not expected to enter technically-oriented careers. And last, but of great importance, her sense of inadequacy is almost palpable as she anticipates a traditional classroom environment in which she feels that she will be "competing" with students who, more than likely, are the ages of her own children. It changes her self-appraisal little to tell her that she will be accepted as an equal by traditional-age students. She knows that she is not ready to handle this kind of interaction on equal terms, regardless of good will.

Augmenting the bewilderment of the woman who strongly desires to return to college are other factors which make her situation even more complex. Possibly she has a family and a job that require juggling multiple schedules—not only hers, but also those of her children and spouse. In the words of Boston Globe columnist Ellen Goodman: "The girl who was told that when she grew up she should get married and have children and keep house is now a grown-up woman being told that she should be married, have children, keep house and a job, or better yet, a career."[2] Flexible course scheduling is an imperative for women who have multiple roles to fulfill.

Clearly, the issue here is the learning environment for women over traditional age. As you mentally project our stereotype into a traditional classroom environment, are you uncomfortably aware of its inabilities to instill in her the confidence she will need to accomplish her academic goals? If there are more than twenty-five students enrolled in our imaginary classroom, will the learning climate encourage her to seek help, if she needs it? Does the instructor have time to assist her in redeveloping her writing, mathematical, or study skills—those all-important tools in academe? Do you sense her self-consciousness as she struggles to hide her inadequacies from students many years her junior? To those whose imaginations have not yet been kindled by observing the re-entry woman trying to succeed without support, I say: Yes, there are some who climb Mt. Everest, but for most of us, the gentler slopes beckon and promise a surer footing.

Let us examine the attributes of a learning climate that will provide the returning woman the self-assurance and skills necessary to meet her academic goals. I suggest one model, which a colleague and I developed four years ago to address the concerns cited in the preceding discussion. I would like to share the aim of that concept, which formally evolved as the Re-entry Program for Women at the University of Tampa, and to describe some of the classroom strategies that are being used.

The curriculum of the Re-entry Program was grounded in the belief that adults, and especially women, who have been away from the academic milieu for several years have special needs that can best be met through a holistic approach. These needs include the renewal of study skills, the redevelopment of academic skills, and the rebuilding of confidence. This holistic approach is based on the assumption that assimilation of subject matter largely depends on the study skills and habits of the learner, and on a sense of self-esteem related to academic processes. In order to accomplish these goals, the Re-entry Program curriculum development focused on a program design which would incorporate the following strategies:

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[2] Tampa Tribune, October 18, 1983.

1. Provide a non-threatening classroom atmosphere in which the adult learner is among peers. This provision is based on the assumption that a homogeneous situation reduces anxiety, lowers teacher-student barriers, encourages active participation, maximizes peer support, and helps ensure a successful academic experience.

2. Emphasize critical analysis of reading and writing, perform analysis and synthesis exercises, and simulate testing devices.

These techniques were implemented through design teams consisting of faculty who teach re-entry courses, the study skills specialist, and the program director. Faculty who have taught re-entry students are a rich resource from whom the uninitiated can draw. Interaction of these two groups—those who have taught returning women with those who have not—results in a clearer perception of the nature and needs of the returning student.

3. Conduct study-skills workshops by the study-skills specialist and the program director.

4. Provide space for study/relaxation/privacy.

5. Monitor the progress of each student through continued academic advising.

The value of a non-traditional classroom environment cannot be overrated. It eliminates not only the apprehension of having to compete with 18- to 21-year-old students, but the sense of inadequacy frequently experienced in a male-female situation. It offers strong peer support to women whose academic image is underdeveloped. Because it brings together women who share a common life experience, it also creates a camaraderie which acts as a catalyst to learning.

The concept of any re-entry course includes one of the strategies suggested in number two above: that is, performing analytical exercises that are appropriate for that particular course. A humanities or social science course naturally focuses on reading and writing analysis, while a course in college algebra might incorporate a math-anxiety component jointly conducted by a study-skills specialist and the math instructor.

One of the unique features of a course taught in the Re-entry Program is that it offers skill-building within the context of the course. In typical humanities or social science courses, for instance, several short practice papers may be assigned so that the student gets ample feedback before a grade is assigned. Another technique is to weight the grades more heavily toward the end of the course, thus giving the student time to "settle in." A deliberate effort is made by re-entry faculty to monitor the progress of each student. This is not an unfeasible task because enrollment is limited to twenty per class.

While ultimate responsibility for establishing course goals rests with individual instructors, criteria for goals can be shaped through the joint efforts of a course-design team consisting of faculty, study-skills specialist, and program director. The success of classroom strategies for re-entry courses is largely dependent upon the ability of faculty to accurately perceive re-entry goals and to implement effective techniques. It is imperative to have a careful orientation of faculty through group participation and through director/faculty conferences about re-entry goals.

In addition to developing skill-building exercises within the context of the course, it is necessary to offer short workshops in study skills. A study-skills specialist from the Counseling Center presents sessions which concentrate on study techniques relating to specific course content. Time management, organizational skills, and associative learning patterns are some of the topics covered.

Closely related to the value of a non-traditional classroom is a space allocated as the Re-entry Lounge. It is a place where women gather before class for the brief interlude between the day's business and evening's pursuit of knowledge. There, while having a cup of coffee, they may exchange viewpoints on a topic discussed in class or make plans to meet for a study session the following day. Many seek refuge there regularly as a quiet place to prepare assignments or study for tests. For whatever reason, they come like homing pigeons to "a room of their own," to paraphrase Virginia Woolf. This space, uniquely theirs, is a center to which they may come at any time—a center which is not just a physical space but a symbol of collective aspirations, a center from which they depart a bit more certain that they can succeed.

As well as skill-building and a non-threatening atmosphere, the role of academic advising is also important. Initially, each student has an academic advising session with the director, who suggests courses which she believes will best coincide with that student's level of readiness. Returning women taking courses for the first time are encouraged to enroll in humanities or social science courses because course content is generally more familiar to them. The director keeps an updated transcript for each student, and all enrolled students receive regular notices to come in at least once a semester for advising.

The ultimate goal of the Re-entry Program is paradoxical: to have no cause for existence. When women who return to education in mid-life can comfortably become a part of the conventional setting, there will no longer be a need for special programs such as this. In the meantime, however, the immediate goal is to facilitate the re-entry student's transition to the mainstream by providing an environment supportive enough to strengthen academic skills and self-confidence without creating a dependency on the support system. Success of the program requires a delicate balance between the extremes of support and self-reliance.

To help achieve this balance, no student is allowed to take more than eight courses in the re-entry mode, and there are usually no more than four courses offered per semester. This is a natural safeguard against creating a dependency on the support system. Courses offered in divisions other than humanities and social science are primarily in business management, accounting, and data processing, since many returning women are already business-career oriented and need to upgrade their skills for promotion.

After three and one-half years, the success of the program may be measured by the number and adaptability of re-entry students entering the mainstream. Feedback suggests that they continue to be achievers, are highly motivated, and make positive contributions to the traditional classroom ambience. They maintain close ties with the Re-entry Program (their peer support group), and lend the program support by frankly discussing their academic needs, which in turn helps the Re-entry Program to shape its goals to meet students' needs. Further, re-entry students entering the mainstream continue to receive academic advising from the director until they are assigned to advisors in their major field.

Since 1980, the Re-entry Program has had a total of 380 enrollments. Forty-four women have successfully matriculated in the mainstream as either full-time or part-time students, and by the end of the 1983-84 academic calendar year, nine will have graduated with Bachelor of Arts and Sciences degrees. Five have been inducted into a national honor society for scholastic achievement. The record speaks for itself. But even if there were no statistics, one has only to talk with a re-entry student who has made a successful transition into the mainstream to recognize the value of this special learning climate. As one student poignantly summarized its meaning to her: "This is my support group—my home away from home. How can I possibly fail?"

THE BEST FEMINIST CRITICISM IS A NEW NEW CRITICISM

Geraldine Ruthchild, Albion College

In 1975, while completing my long-drawn-out college career, I came across an anthology of poetry by women entitled The World Split Open. After reading Louise Bernikow's introduction to that volume, I was never again the same person, for her words abruptly crystallized random ideas I had had into a gem of revelation. "What is commonly called literary history," Bernikow said, "is actually a record of choices,"

> Which writers have survived their time and which have not depends upon who noticed them and chose to record the notice. Which works have become part of the "canon" of literature, read, thought about, discussed, and which have disappeared depends, in the same way, on the process of selection and the power to select along the way. Such power, in England and America, has always belonged to white men. That class has written the record called literary history, which is clearly shaped by the attitudes, conscious or unconscious, of white men toward nonwhites and nonmales. . . .[1]

Although I had long been a student of literature, and although I had begun to question my own assumption (shared, of course, by my classmates, if it was thought about at all) that the canon's origins were coterminous with those of the Mosaic tablets, I had never had my questions coalesce into an active challenge until I read Bernikow's words. The few lines I have excerpted permanently refocused my vision of literary history.

What is true of literary history is equally true of literary criticism—it is written for the most part by white males and, even when not, it is shaped by the assumptions of white male culture. Some of those assumptions are problematic for feminists in relatively obvious ways. The convictions that women's writing should be judged as a separate—and inferior—category (if, in fact, it is judged worthy of notice at all); that women are by nature incapable of cool judgment, of rational and detached artistry, but are instead creatures of passion and spontaneity, the slaves of their instincts and emotions; that even women's art is a product of their emotions; that women's lives consist of no more important events than their relationships with men—such condescending and dismissive notions denigrate women and their accomplishments overtly. When these notions surface in biographical or literary historical criticism, they are relatively easy to identify and ignore.

Other assumptions of traditional literary criticism are more surreptitiously damaging. The attempt to interpret and evaluate literary works as products or reflections of the timeless, universal dynamics of Oedipal complexes or psychic reintegration—the attempt, that is, to do psychoanalytic criticism—seems laudable, until we examine these so-called universals and find them to be either "universal" only for one sex (like the Oedipal complex) or defined very differently for men and women (like Freud's concept of psychic wholeness). The attempt to interpret and evaluate literary works as self-sufficient artifacts, as formal constructs containing tension, ambiguity, or verbal ingenuity, as entities independent of any social, biographical, or literary historical context—i.e., the project of so-called "New Criticism"—seems even more promising, until one realizes that it is in fact logically impossible to discuss form without discussing content, for it is content, not sound or word length, which structures form. With the question of content comes the question of how to evaluate content, how to decide which contents are interesting, ambiguous, or ingenious. This latter question has been answered, as one might expect, within a framework of masculinist assumptions. Stories about men, by men, have traditionally been assumed to carry universal significance, while those about and especially by women are unconsciously regarded as women's stories—thus a novel about a bunch of men in a boat chasing a whale is an allegory of human nature (capital H, capital N), while one that traces its female protagonist's life from childhood through adulthood, and includes poverty, physical suffering, mental anguish, disease, disappointment, and marriage is only about the woman Jane Eyre, or—at best—Victorian womanhood. We cannot avoid judging content, but where it could have been judged according to criteria of interest to men and women, and where each point of view could have been recognized as only partial, "New Criticism" in particular and traditional criticism in general have asserted the male view as the human view.

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[1] Louise Bernikow, "Introduction," in The World Split Open: Four Centuries of Women Poets in England and America, 1552-1950 (New York, 1974), p. 3.

Aside from content, even the more strictly formal criteria have also been tainted by the assumptions of a male culture. Qualities like abstraction, esotericism, ambiguity, irony, narrative detachment, have been unquestioningly esteemed. Finally, the decisions about which works of literature are chosen for formal or structural analysis under "New Criticism" are usually not acknowledged as decisions. Somehow (which brings us full circle to the questions raised by Bernikow's account of literary history) the canon seems to have been accepted as Holy Writ.

In the remainder of this essay, I will offer a few examples of literary historical, biographical, psychoanalytic, and "New" criticism, the conventional forms of criticism to whose parameters I have alluded in the previous discussion. The examples will be drawn mostly from criticism on Christina Rossetti and Edith Wharton, writers chosen because they were major writers, because much criticism has been written on them, and because I thought that problematic assumptions would be more readily perceptible in criticism on women writers than in that on men. I trust that these examples will give concrete, recognizable form to the abstract theoretical problems whose existence I have asserted. I will then present several feminist responses to conventional criticism and will explore some directions for further development.

In literary history, we see some of the problems for feminists by implication only. For example, there are several women writers, such as Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Edith Wharton, who were both famed and critically acclaimed in their own day, but whose literary reputations have mysteriously fallen, though their work is frequently better than many of their currently more celebrated male contemporaries. Furthermore, traditional literary history attempts to evaluate a large scope, temporal and literary, and when women are included, they are usually (and unconsciously) condescended to. Their work is considered in a class apart, as though they were writing women's poetry, not poetry. They are assumed, as nonwhites are in certain contexts, to be more emotional, more primitive, more spontaneous. "Christina Rossetti," says Paul Elmer More in 1905, "should be read" as "the flower of strictly feminine genius . . . her perfectly passive attitude toward the powers that command her heart and soul . . .

makes her to me the purest expression in English of the feminine genius."[2] C.M. Bowra, in his well-known 1961 study of *The Romantic Imagination*, continues this line of argument. He asserts a struggle of "the claims of her womanhood against those of her sanctity,"[3] and says:

> Of this conflict she was painfully aware, though she hoped to be able to solve it by self-discipline and self-denial. But *beyond her control*, in her inmost self, strange forces awoke. . . . It was as if her unconscious self *took command and forced her* to present in almost dramatic form her most intimate feelings. . . . Her genius *took command* of her and *made her* write poems which her conscious self would have repudiated. . . .[4]

"Rigorous though Christina's denial of love was," Bowra asserts a few pages later,

> it was not strong enough to curb all her womanly and human instincts. . . . She could not from time to time prevent them from bursting into an almost heart-rending poetry, which is all the more powerful because it rises not from controlled thoughts but from longings which *force themselves on her* despite all her efforts to check them.[5]

Not only does Bowra draw dubious distinctions between "womanhood and sanctity," and, even worse, between "womanly and human," but he also uses a metaphor or model to structure his discussion that depicts the woman poet as the victim of force. Bowra seems unable to see Christina Rossetti as a poet—she is a *woman* poet, and as a woman poet, the assumption seems to be, she is *acted upon*, *forced* to do things against her will (and one notes here that these imposed activities are, of course, good for her).

One might think that the problems raised by literary historical criticism would be solved by replacing it with biographical criticism, and by the attendant shift from sweeping generalities to small specifics. But nonfeminist biographical criticism produces representatives like Lona Packer, who analyzes Christina Rossetti's poetry as a series of allusions to her life, and defines her life (as Emily Dickinson's critics do hers) as the series of her relationships with men.[6] Vernon Parrington, a far more sophisticated critic than Packer, falls into a similar trap when discussing Edith Wharton. "She is unconsciously shut in," he maintains,

> behind plate glass, where butlers serve formal dinners, and white shoulders go up at the mere suggestion of everyday gingham. . . . She cannot make herself at home in households where the mother washes the dishes and the father tends the furnace. If she had lived less easily, if she had been forced to skimp and save and plan, she would have been a greater and richer artist. . . .[7]

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[2] Paul Elmer More, "Christina Rossetti," in *Shelburne Essays: Third Series* (New York and London, 1905), p. 128; italics mine.

[3] C.M. Bowra, "Christina Rossetti," in *The Romantic Imagination* (New York, 1961), p. 255; italics mine.

[4] Ibid., (italics mine).

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

[6] Lona Mosk Packer, *Christina Rossetti* (Berkeley, 1963).

[7] Vernon L. Parrington, "Our Literary Aristocrat," in *Pacific Review*, June, 1921; reprinted in Irving Howe, ed., *Edith Wharton: A Collection of Critical Essays*, Twentieth Century Views Series (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1962), p. 153.

Wharton is being attacked here for what are simply the facts of her biography, and one cannot help but notice the different treatment accorded Henry James, who lived behind the same sheet of plate glass. One is also tempted to remark that Parrington, like Bowra, thinks that some force applied to Wharton would be good for her.

Alfred Kazin and Edmund Wilson also use a biographical approach, incorporating it into a basically historical model and taking biography to a point where it begins to shade into psychoanalysis. Kazin accounts for Wharton's career thus:

> Edith Wharton became a writer not because she revolted against her native society, but because she was bored with it. . . . She became a writer because she wanted to live; it was her liberation. But what it was she wanted to live for as a writer, she did not know. Unlike her master, Henry James, she did not begin with the conviction of a metier, the sense of craftsmanship and art. . . . To Edith Wharton, whose very career as a novelist was the tenuous product of so many personal maladjustments, the novel became an involuted expression of self. . . .[8]

Edmund Wilson is equally condescending to Wharton—and equally factually wrong, as R.W.B. Lewis's definitive biography has proven.[9] "It is sometimes true of women writers—," Wilson ominously begins,

> less often, I believe, of men—that a manifestation of something like genius may be stimulated by some exceptional emotional strain, but will disappear when the stimulus has passed. With a man, his professional, his artisan's life is likely to persist and evolve through the vicissitudes of his emotional experience. Henry James in a virtual vacuum continued to possess and develop his *metier* up to his very last years. But Mrs. Wharton has no *metier* in that sense. With her emergence from her life in the United States, her settling down in the congenial society of Paris, she seems at last to become comfortably adjusted; and with her adjustment, the real intellectual force which she has exerted throughout a decade and a half evaporates almost completely.[10]

The fact that such eminent critics thought they could get away with these condescending, dismissive remarks—and, even worse, the fact that they did not perceive themselves as "getting away with" anything—is an index of widespread cultural assumptions. The stature enjoyed by Kazin and Wilson makes their remarks especially pernicious.

If the movement from large historical themes to smaller personal ones has failed, perhaps the answer lies in moving in the other direction, towards larger, more universal criteria for evaluation, like those suggested by psychoanalytic criticism and by the "New Criticism" founded in the '40s and '50s. One example of psychoanalytic criticism is furnished by Winston Weathers, who interprets *Goblin Market* as the tale of a divided self moving through conflict to partial integration. "We should read Christina Rossetti," he suggests, "as a serious, masterful eschatological and psychological poet who can be safely removed more and more from the Victorian and Pre-Raphaelite context into the larger context of universal and timeless experience. . . ."[11]

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[8] Alfred Kazin, *On Native Grounds* (New York, 1942), pp. 75-78.

[9] R.W.B. Lewis, *Edith Wharton: A Biography* (New York, 1975).

[10] Edmund Wilson, *The Wound and the Bow* (New York, 1947), p. 208; italics Wilson's.

[11] Winston Weathers, "Christina Rossetti: The Sisterhood of Self," *Victorian Poetry*, 3 (1965), 81.

Like psychoanalytic criticism, "New Criticism" claims for itself a world apart from crass material facts. Here the world is that of the architectonically constructed aesthetic object, deserving of consideration on its own terms, removed from the context of history and biography. A.A. DeVitis, for instance, interprets Goblin Market in characteristically new critical terms as an allegory of the creative process.[12] But, like Weathers's psychoanalytic interpretation, this leaves out so much of what the poem is about—the sensuousness, the temptation, the sisterly love, the sexual tensions—that one cannot be satisfied with it as a reading. Similarly, when Walter de la Mare, in a manner equally characteristic of "New Criticism," contends that "it is not the intention of a poem that matters, but itself only,"[13] we cannot really agree. Milton's Paradise Lost is not nearly as powerful or as comprehensible if we fail to consider his purpose in writing it.

If we step back to get an overall view of the various genres of criticism that I have surveyed, we can discern in them two basic gestures in response to the issue of gender. One is to see gender as a defining characteristic; this is the gesture made by literary historical criticism when it judges poetesses differently from poets and by biographical criticism when it interprets a poet's life as being a series of relationships with men. The other basic move is to see gender as non-existent; this is the gesture made by psychoanalytic and "New" criticism as they fall into the trap of a fallacious and hypocritical universalism. What none of these critical genres accomplishes is to recognize and tolerate the physical and social fact of gender difference or to integrate that recognition into the criteria used to evaluate literary works and artists.

Feminist criticism challenged the traditional gender bias and attempted to recognize gender difference and to incorporate an understanding of it. The following four examples, excerpted from the writings of Kate Millett, Shulamith Firestone, Patricia Spacks, and Ellen Moers, are taken from major works which extended the boundaries of feminist theory and/or criticism. Each of them, however, presents difficulties I think the excerpts will make clear.

In her groundbreaking work, Sexual Politics, Kate Millett says of the sexual revolution of the Victorian age that it

> permitted the first expression of a feminine point of view. . . . Inasmuch as the first phase made possible the emergence of a truly feminine sensibility, one can find in the Brontes the real thing. "Living in sin," George Eliot lived the revolution as well perhaps, but she did not write of it. She is stuck with the Ruskinian service ethic and the pervasive Victorian fantasy of the good woman who goes down into Samaria and rescues the fallen man—nurse, guide, mother, adjunct of the race. . . .
>
> Lucy Snowe, the heroine of Charlotte Bronte's Villette, a book too subversive to be popular, is another matter.[14]

The problem with Millett's account is the underlying equation (partly communicated through tone) of subversion with good fiction and of conservatism, toward which she is too quickly dismissive, with bad fiction. This assumption distorts her judgment of George Eliot, a writer generally conceded by feminists and nonfeminists alike to be a greater artist than was either Bronte sister.

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[12] A.A. DeVitis, "Goblin Market: Fairy Tale and Reality," Journal of Popular Culture, 1 (1968), 418-26.

[13] Walter de la Mare, "Christina Rossetti," in Essays by Divers Hands (Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature), New Series VI (1926), 112.

[14] Kate Millett, Sexual Politics (New York, 1978; first edition 1969), pp. 196-97.

Several years after Sexual Politics, Shulamith Firestone attempts to reconcile Marxism and feminism in The Dialetic of Sex, in which she offers an explanation of the relatively late historical phenomenon of women artists:

> . . .there are many negative reasons that women have entered art: Affluence always creates female dilettantism . . . for, in addition to serving as a symbol of male luxury, women's increasing idleness under advancing industrialism presents a practical problem: female discontent has to be eased to keep it from igniting. Or women may be entering art as a refuge. Women today are still excluded from the vital power centers of human activity; and art is one of the last self-determining occupations left—often done in solitude. But in this sense women are like a Petty Bourgeoisie trying to open up shop in the age of Corporate Capitalism. . . .
>
> Eventually, out of this ferment . . . we may see the emergence of an authentic female art. But the development of "female" art is not to be viewed as reactionary, like its counterpart, the male School of Virility. Rather it is progressive: an exploration of the strictly female reality is a necessary step to correct the warp in a sexually biased culture.[15]

Firestone's contentions reflect the underlying assumption, related to the one made by Millett, that female is equivalent to subversive and good, and male to reactionary and bad. This assumption is clearly simplistic and unjust. What does one do with Phyllis Schlafly? or Alan Alda?

Attempts to moderate and apply these views were made in the '70s, for example by Patricia Spacks and Ellen Moers. Spacks's The Female Imagination[16] is a study of the characteristics of women writers' ways of seeing, divided thematically; Spacks has chapters titled "Taking Care," "The Artist as a Woman," "The World Outside," etc. Moers's Literary Women,[17] written several years later, is primarily thematic in organization and content, but includes an important chapter on female literary history, in which Moers asserts women writers' particular indebtedness to a female literary tradition.

All of these works have been very important to feminism, but all of them share a tendency to subordinate the work of art to a system. In Millett and Firestone the system is so obvious as to be intrusive. In Spacks and Moers it is less obvious but still functions as an intellectual structure, a way of organizing ideas. Spacks, for instance, is in some ways guilty of the same defining-by-gender, the same sex segregation, as P.E. More, the difference being her celebratory rather than punitive attitude toward women. Thematic studies are of necessity very reductive; they subordinate the work to a system as an ahistorical study must since it is not based on actual events. Thematic studies are also inadequate specifically for feminists, since one cannot address some of the most important questions raised by feminism without looking at the sociohistorical context. How can you account for the small number of women writers, for example,

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15. Shulamith Firestone, The Dialéctic of Sex (New York, 1970), pp. 166-67.
16. Patricia Meyer Spacks, The Female Imagination (New York, 1972).
17. Ellen Moers, Literary Women (New York, 1977).

without looking at history? or for the genres in which they wrote and did not write? or for their styles? In the work of Ellen Moers, the attempt is made to shift away from an ahistorical view, but situating women writers in an all-female tradition oversimplifies or overcorrects a complex reality; Edith Wharton may owe large debts to George Eliot but is at least equally indebted (more, if you take Wharton's own word for it) to Balzac and Stendhal.

I promised at the beginning of this essay that I would indicate some further directions in which feminist criticism might proceed. We must attempt, I believe, to eliminate systematization, and instead focus on the work at hand (thus the "New Criticism" of my title); we must try to understand a given work from our perspective now, as we have no choice but to do, while simultaneously giving full due to the historical—i.e., social, literary, intellectual—conditions of its production (thus the "New New Criticism" of my title). Since it strikes me as important, for feminists especially, to tie the abstract and theoretical to the specific and concrete, allow me to furnish several examples of what my suggestions might entail. They might entail looking at George Eliot as she compared to other Victorian novelists instead of condemning her for the Victorian views she could not help but hold. They might entail reexamining women writers to see how good—how powerful, elegant, honest, and analytical—their work really is, independent of the influence they have had or, more likely, have not had. They might entail dispensing with the crude equations of progressive with good and conservative with bad. They might entail studying the history of critical reactions to an author with our own critical (both senses intended) eye to the assumptions underlying them. They will certainly entail rewriting literary history and literary criticism both.

THE SOCIAL DETERMINATION OF SCIENCE: SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES

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The institutions and values of science have a history. They were born and developed at particular times in particular places. The people involved in these developments were products of their societies. And, of course, the process is ongoing. The institutions and the values of science are, therefore, socially determined.

Where scientists learn and work, how much they earn, and how science is funded are some aspects of the practice of science that are socially determined. The structures of science—the way that scientists are organized into scientific societies, the rules and values that govern science as a profession, and the reasons for which science is done—are also determined by the nature of society.

A much more subtle phenomenon is that the results of science also fit into this scheme. In fact, the practice, the structures, and the results of science are very strongly related to each other. For example, the nature of scientific societies helps to determine the definitions of the scientific disciplines, the training that scientists receive, the kinds of questions that scientists ask, the techniques that are generally used for answering these questions, and the receptions that the answers receive. Furthermore, the structure and organization of knowledge, which are socially dependent, help to determine the meaning of new knowledge.

This paper will look briefly at the invention of science by men, and ask if women might have done it differently. First, however, I would like to explore the assertion that science is value-free; for if this is true, we are faced with the serious problem of trying to explain how social values can impinge on a value-free endeavor. The following brief discussion of the seventeenth-century scientific revolution deals with the creation of a new institution in the midst of powerful existing institutions. We will see parallels with the creation of the new feminist scholarship.

Objectivity and the Seventeenth-Century Scientific Revolution[1]

The science of the Middle Ages was based on faith and authority. The church defined the structure into which all knowledge was required to fit. This, of course, gave enormous power to the church, a power which it guarded tenaciously. It is not surprising that Copernicus waited until just before he died in 1543 to publish his reassertion of heliocentrism.[2] In 1600 Giordano Bruno, a noted free thinker, was burned at the stake for heresy; and in the 1630's Galileo was found guilty of suspicion of heresy.

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[1] Everett Mendelsohn, "The Social Construction of Scientific Knowledge," in The Social Production of Scientific Knowledge, ed. E. Mendelsohn, P. Weingart, and R. Whitley (Boston: D. Reidel Publishing Co., 1977), pp. 3-26.

In England, early in the seventeenth century, Francis Bacon proposed a new, countercultural science, based on experience rather than authority. This new science took hold. Scientific societies sprang up, of which the oldest, still in existence, is the Royal Society of London (chartered in 1662 and 1663), "For the advancement of Experimental Philosophy."[3] Such groups provided the focus for experimental science and the development of modern science.

But remember Copernicus, Bruno, and Galileo; the church was jealous of its power. It served the new scientists well to be cautious about treading on the territories of existing institutions. They had the further problem that, small though their numbers were, they too were fragmented among the political and religious factions of their time. As their charter states, the members of the Royal Society "openly profess, not to lay the Foundation of an English, Scotch, Irish, Popish or Protestant Philosophy; but a Philosophy of Mankind."[4] The necessity of avoiding political and religious strife led to the acceptance of objectivity as a primary value in the new science. But this acceptance gave rise to a fundamental flaw, which Frances Yates describes: "The mistake arose of allowing the problem of mind to fall . . . completely out of step and . . . far behind the problem of matter in the external world and how it works. . . . This bad start of the problem of knowledge has never quite been made up."[5] Problems of the human mind and soul, of the internal world, belonged to existing institutions. For their own protection the new scientists established an objective science, one that avoided questions of the internal world, of human values.

Everett Mendelsohn, noted social historian of science, tells the following story. A number of years ago, early in the controversy surrounding the emergence of sociobiology, a Harvard psychologist publicly criticized the work of a sociobiologist, who responded that he was simply searching for the truth. The psychologist, upon being asked if he valued truth, thought and then replied, "Yes, only slightly less than I value compassion." Three hundred years after the beginning of the scientific revolution we are still struggling with the consequences of the values that were injected into modern science at its birth. The claim that science ought to be value-free is a value-laden assertion.

Women and the Invention of Science

From the seventeenth-century scientific revolution to the present, science has been invented and reinvented. This ongoing activity involves the values and institutions within science: scientific societies, science education, and the relationship between science and government, to name a few. In America, this was largely a nineteenth-century phenomenon, and it was strongly conditioned by the nature of society. Geology and natural history were the primary sciences on this newly discovered continent. The

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[2] Sir William Cecil Dampier, A History of Science and Its Relations With Philosophy and Religion, Fourth Edition reprinted with a postscript by I. Bernard Cohen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 112.

[3] History of the Royal Society by Thomas Sprat, ed. with a critical apparatus by Jackson I. Cope and Harold Whitmore Jones (St. Louis: Washington University Studies, 1959), p. 1.

[4] History of the Royal Society by Thomas Sprat, p. 63.

[5] Frances A. Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), pp. 454-55.

United States Constitution was written so as to reduce the interference of government in the lives of its citizens. The first scientific schools in America were funded largely from the fortunes of the new class of wealthy industrialists. All of these circumstances shaped the growth and development of American science and the establishment of our scientific societies. Women were not involved in the establishment of the values and institutions of science. Their roles were defined by society in a way that precluded that kind of participation.[6]

Would a different bias have led to the invention of a different science? This is a very difficult question to tackle; we have only one history. Recently, however, a scholarship on this question has begun to emerge.[7]

An example of male-dominated science in the United States may be found in the nineteenth century, when American science was becoming institutionalized and professionalized. Among the men responsible for these activities was a tight clique of professional scientists with direct or indirect ties to the federal government. Some of the more important members were Louis Agassiz (internationally known Swiss natural historian, and the first head of the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard), Alexander Dallas Bache (West Point-trained head of the Coast Survey), and Joseph Henry (first secretary of the Smithsonian Institution). For a number of years many of them had been meeting together socially in an informal "old boys' club" which they called the Scientific Lazzaroni after Italian street people "who were restless or in revolt." They were heavily involved with building and leading the first national scientific society, the American Association for the Advancement of Science. According to Mark Beach, "The Lazzaroni were men who lived comfortably, dined sumptuously, and drank heartily. Their avowed raison d'etre was to meet annually, usually in January, to feast upon oysters and dark lager." They were also well connected with power elites throughout the country, particularly in Washington and Cambridge. "At the gala social affairs surrounding AAAS meetings, they with their friends, proteges, and consorts, would dine with the business elite of the city."[8]

By contrast, a woman who aspired to a life in science had neither the opportunities for education nor the connections available to men. One such woman, the great American astronomer of the nineteenth century, Maria Mitchell, was born and raised on Nantucket during the height of that island's prosperity. Her father, an amateur astronomer of some note, trained her, although she went far beyond his teaching by learning for herself the most recent advances in mathematical astronomy. That required, among other things, that she teach herself enough French and German to be able to translate mathematical treatises in those languages. She received international attention when she was awarded a prize offered by the king of Denmark for the discovery, by telescope, of a new comet. In spite of her lack of formal higher education, she was appointed to the early faculty of Vassar College, and it was there that she trained a number of women who became important scientists and educators in the latter part of the century. Mitchell was a strong advocate for science education for women. In 1850 she became the first woman member of the AAAS. Two years earlier she had been given membership in another prestigious organization, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, but Asa Gray, its president, prevented her from being admitted in the usual fashion, as a "fellow." Instead she was made an "honorary member."[9]

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[6] There are many sources which document this. Perhaps the most eloquent discussion of the extreme difficulties encountered by women who aspired to intellectual careers, from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, is given by Virginia Woolf, A Room of One's Own (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1929).

[7] For example, Evelyn Fox Keller, "Feminism as an Analytic Tool for the Study of Science," Academe, 69 (1983), 15.

[8] Mark Beach, "Was There a Scientific Lazzaroni," in Nineteenth Century American Science: A Reappraisal, ed. George H. Daniels (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1972), pp. 117-19.

Contrast Mitchell's attitude towards the circumstances surrounding AAAS meetings with that of the all-male Scientific Lazzaroni:

> It is really amusing to find one's self lionized in a city where one has visited quietly for years; to see the doors of fashionable mansions open wide to receive you, which never opened before. I suspect that the whole corps of science laughs in its sleeves at the farce.
>
> The leaders make it pay pretty well. My friend Professor Bache makes the occasions the opportunities for working sundry little wheels, pulleys, and levers; the result of all which is that he gets his enormous appropriations of $400,000 out of Congress, every winter, for the maintenance of the United States Coast Survey.
>
> For a few days Science reigns supreme—we are feted and complimented to the top of our bent; and although complimenters and complimented must feel that it is only a sort of theatrical performance, for a few days and over, one does enjoy acting the part of greatness for a while! I was tired after three days of it, and glad to take the cars and run away.[10]

This one example, of course, does not establish the point. There is the additional problem that Mitchell's attitude towards ostentation might be more attributable to her Quaker upbringing than to her gender. Nevertheless, informal networks, "old boys' clubs," are operating today in much the same way as the Lazzaroni did over a hundred years ago. Would women have included this device in their invention of science?

The Challenge for Women's Studies Today

The nature and the results of a pursuit are inextricably intertwined with the institutions and values which constitute that pursuit. This is as true of Women's Studies as it is of science. The societies that gave birth to and nourished science were male-dominated and so science is male-invented. What about Women's Studies? How deliberate, how conscious are we of the way we are inventing the new feminist scholarship? How many value and institutional structures are we taking with us from male-invented pursuits?

Detailed questions might be asked. How are we creating our professional societies? How do we distinguish between professionals and amateurs in this field, and what are the roles of each? Do we require a system of peer review, and if so, what kind of system? What are the gates, and who are the gatekeepers when new people wish to enter the field? How do we define the disciplines within the new scholarship? The list is endless.

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[9] Maria Mitchell's biography is written by Helen Wright, Sweeper in the Sky: The Life of Maria Mitchell, First Woman Astronomer in America (New York: Macmillan, 1949).

[10] Maria Mitchell: Life, Letters, and Journals, comp. Phoebe Mitchell Kendall (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1896), p. 22.

The theme of the 1982 GLCA Women's Studies Conference was Seeing Our Way Clear: Feminist Revision of the Academy. How much of the academy have we, by default, incorporated into our pursuit? How long will we continue to do so? Those among us who have struggled to build Women's Studies programs at institutions dominated by traditional scholars jealously guarding their territories can well understand the dilemma of the seventeenth-century experimental scientists. Compromise is the key to survival. But will these compromises become institutionalized for the next three hundred years?

This is not to say that the academy, that existing scholarly values and institutions, are necessarily undesirable. It is to say that in the wonderful endeavor of creating a new scholarship, let us be conscious of all the choices that we make.

BEM'S GENDER SCHEMA THEORY

Janet Shibley Hyde, Denison University

> Here is a brain teaser that has been popular for the last few years:
>
> A father and his son were involved in a car accident in which the father was killed and the son was seriously injured. The father was pronounced dead at the scene of the accident and his body was taken to a local mortuary. The son was taken by ambulance to a hospital and was immediately wheeled into an operating room. A surgeon was called. Upon seeing the patient, the attending surgeon exclaimed, "Oh my God, it's my son!"
> Can you explain this? (Keep in mind that the father who was killed in the accident was not the stepfather, nor was the attending physician the boy's stepfather.)

The answer, of course, is that the surgeon is the boy's mother. But the point is that it is a brain teaser, and it is a brain teaser precisely because it is so difficult to produce the idea "mother" when thinking about surgeons. It is exactly this sort of phenomenon that is addressed by Sandra Bem's Gender Schema Theory (1981).

For those of you who are not psychologists, let me set the stage by explaining that there are three major psychological theories that are traditionally used to explain the gender-typing process. This is the process whereby children come to behave in gender-appropriate ways and continue to conform to gender-role stereotypes throughout their lives, or feel guilty when they don't. Those three theories are social learning theory, Kohlberg's cognitive-developmental theory, and psychoanalytic theory. In brief, social learning theory explains gender-appropriate behavior as being a result of reinforcers, punishments, and imitation. Cognitive-developmental theory follows in the tradition of Piaget and Kohlberg. It argues that the child, around two years of age, forms a concept of gender identity; later, around four to six years of age, the child forms a concept of gender constancy, the understanding that gender is a permanent attribute of oneself. According to Kohlberg, these concepts are internalized and closely linked to the self-concept; they are therefore powerful internalized motivators for children wanting to behave in gender-appropriate ways. Psychoanalytic theory is not taken too seriously any more particularly by feminist psychologists (with certain exceptions—some people are working on developing feminist psychoanalysis!), and probably is not worth even a two-sentence explanation. Onto this stage walked Bem's Gender Schema Theory as another explanatory model for the gender-typing process. It uses the "schema" construct from cognitive psychology, so it will be important to explain that construct first.

Schemas and Gender Schemas

The schema has been part of theorizing in cognitive psychology for a number of years (Neisser, 1976) and was the framework for and object of considerable research before it was ever applied to gender (for a good summary and evaluation of schema theory not applied to gender, see Alba & Hasher, 1983). Cognitive psychology is the branch

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of psychology that investigates how we think, perceive, process, and remember information. A schema is defined as a general knowledge framework that a person has about a particular topic. A schema organizes and guides perceptions, and aids—but sometimes hinders or distorts—memory. To gain a more specific understanding of what a schema is, read the following paragraph carefully and then, without going back to it, answer the questions that follow.

> You decide to go to your favorite restaurant for dinner. You enter the restaurant and are seated at a table with a white tablecloth. You study the menu. You tell the waiter that you want prime rib, medium rare, a baked potato with sour cream, and a salad with bleu cheese dressing. You also order some red wine from the wine list. A few minutes later the waiter returns with your salad. Later he brings the rest of the meal, all of which you enjoy, except that the prime rib is a bit overdone.

Now answer the following questions:

1. What kind of salad dressing did you order?
2. Was the tablecloth red checked? Yes No
3. What did you order to drink?
4. Did the waiter give you a menu? Yes No

The important point is, what did you answer for question four? The correct answer is "no," because there is no mention in the story of the waiter handing you a menu. Many people answer "yes" incorrectly to this question. The reason is that most of us have a restaurant schema in our stored knowledge. A common part of a restaurant schema is that a waiter hands you a menu. Therefore your restaurant schema probably filled in this piece of information, although it really was not described in the story, and you therefore made an error. An individual's perception and memory of information is a result of the interaction of the incoming information with the individual's preexisting schema.

Psychologist Sandra Bem (1981) has applied the schema construct to understanding the gender-typing process, in her Gender Schema Theory (see also Markus et al., 1982; Martin & Halverson, 1981, 1983). Her proposal is that each one of us has as part of our knowledge structure a gender schema, a set of gender-linked associations. Further, the gender schema represents a basic predisposition to process information on the basis of gender. That is, it represents our tendency to see many things as gender-related and to want to dichotomize things on the basis of gender.

As an illustration, one day my daughter Margaret, when she was about 3½, came home from preschool and told me wisely that women couldn't be doctors, they could only be nurses. I was appalled, but I had read enough of the psychological literature to know that this sort of thing was to be expected. I calmly pointed out a counterexample—Dr. Judy Held, a good friend of our family's, whose specialty is internal medicine, who is both my and my husband's doctor, and whom Margaret sees frequently. Margaret looked thoughtful, and said, "Oh, I guess that's right." A piece of background information to the story is that Margaret's own doctors are a team of two pediatricians, both male. The next day, as we were riding in the car, Margaret spontaneously said, "I guess the women doctors take care of adults and the men doctors take care of kids." The point is that she just had to dichotomize things by gender somehow. If women-nurses, men-doctors didn't work, then maybe something else would. That sort of thought that dichotomizes by gender is exactly what Bem means by a gender schema.

Bem says that the developmental process of gender-typing or gender-role acquisition in children is a result of the child's gradual learning of the content of society's gender schema. The gender-linked associations are many: girls wear dresses and boys don't; girls grow up to be mommies, boys don't; boys are strong and tough, girls are pretty (perhaps learned simply by the adjectives adults apply to children, rarely or never calling boys pretty, rarely or never calling girls tough).

There is a further important process. According to Bem, the gender schema becomes closely linked to the self-concept. Thus five-year-old Maria knows she is a girl and also has a girl schema which she attaches to her own sense of self as a girl. Maria's self-esteem then begins to ride on how well she measures up to her girl schema. At that point she becomes internally motivated to conform to society's gender roles as contained in her gender schema (this point is much like Kohlberg's). Society does not have to force her into the role. She gladly does it herself and feels good about herself in the process.

Finally, Bem postulates that different individuals may have different gender schemas. The content of the schema varies from one person to the next, as a function of different experiences they have or different kinds of gender information found in their family as they grew. Further, the gender schema is more central to self-concept for some people, namely those who are highly gender-typed (masculine males and feminine females); the gender schema is not so central to self-concept in androgynous people.

Evidence for Gender Schema Theory

Because this theory is so new, we really do not have enough studies to be able to evaluate it. But let us look at several studies that illustrate how the theory can be tested.

In one study, Bem (1981) gave a list of sixty-one words, in random order, to college student subjects. Some of the words were proper names, some were animals, some verbs, and some articles of clothing. Half of the names were male and half were female. One-third of the animals were masculine (gorilla), one-third were feminine (butterfly), and one-third were neutral (ant). Similarly, one third of the verbs and articles of clothing were each masculine, feminine, and neutral. The subjects' task was to recall as many of the sixty-one words as they could, in any order. We know from many previous studies by cognitive psychologists that subjects in memory tasks such as these tend to cluster words into categories of words with similar meaning, as indicated by the order in which subjects recall them. For example, if the subject organized the words according to gender, the recall order might be gorilla, bull, trousers; but if the organization was according to animal vs. clothing the recall order might be gorilla, butterfly, ant. If gender-typed subjects (masculine males and feminine females as measured by the Bem Sex Role Inventory) do possess a gender schema that they use to organize information, then they should cluster their recalled words into gender groupings. That is exactly what occurred. Gender-typed subjects tended to cluster words according to gender, a result that supports Gender Schema Theory. They did this clustering significantly more than androgynous subjects, also supporting the theory.

In another study Bem (1981) measured the reaction times of college students to gender-linked adjectives, such as independent, feminine, competitive, loves children. The words were projected, one at a time, on a screen. The subject's task was to press one of two buttons, "me" or "not me," depending on whether they felt the adjective was characteristic of themselves. The reaction time is the amount of time from presentation of the word until the subject presses the button. If there is a gender schema that processes incoming information, then information that is consistent with one's gender schema, particularly as it relates to the self, should be processed faster than information that is not consistent with the gender self-schema. (For example, if I asked you "Is a robin a bird?" you would probably respond quickly, while if I asked you "Is a penguin a bird?" you would probably respond more slowly.) The results were that gender-typed subjects did indeed make schema-consistent judgments faster than schema-inconsistent judgments, a result that supports gender schema theory. (For similar results, see Markus et al., 1982.)

In another experiment five- and six-year-old children were shown pictures of males and females performing gender-consistent activities (such as a boy playing with a train) and gender-inconsistent activities (such as a girl sawing wood) (Martin & Halverson, 1983). One week later the children were tested for their memory of the pictures. The results indicated that the children distorted information by changing the gender of the person in the gender-inconsistent pictures, while not making such changes for the gender-consistent pictures. That is, children tended to remember the picture of the girl sawing wood as having been a picture of a boy sawing wood. That result is just what would be predicted by gender schema theory: incoming information that is inconsistent with the gender schema is filtered out and reinterpreted to be consistent with the gender schema. This study also indicates that the gender schema is present even in five-year-olds.

In summary, we have seen evidence consistent with gender schema theory using some of the standard measures used by cognitive psychologists: clustering or organizing of words by gender in free recall (Bem, 1981), faster reaction times to gender- and self-consistent adjectives (Bem, 1981; Markus et al., 1981), and children's distortion of gender-inappropriate information in memory (Martin & Halverson, 1983). Nonetheless, the range of tasks is very narrow and conventional. At Denison we have been doing some studies to widen the range of areas used to test gender schema theory.

Denison Research on Gender Schema Theory

The first project I will describe was done by Becky Pschirrer for a senior Honors project in 1982-83. She decided to look at the behavior of mock jurors in a rape trial, and at what gender schema theory would predict about their behavior. She identified people who had different gender schemas by using the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1978), which measures the extent to which people hold modern, liberal views of women's rights, versus traditional, conservative views. She reasoned that people who score high on the scale are essentially modern gender-schematics, holding a modern view of women's roles, whereas those who score low on the scale are traditional gender-schematics. In using the AWS, she was trying to go beyond Bem's use of her androgyny scale in identifying people who hold varying kinds of gender schemas. After administering the attitude scale, she played a tape-recording of a thirty-minute summary of a rape trial. The information presented was complex, and the case—summarized from an actual one that occurred in 1969—is highly ambiguous. In previous research it has produced close to a fifty-fifty split in jurors' decisions. Afterward, she asked the mock jurors (students in introductory psychology) to write a memory essay recalling in as much detail as they could all information from the case they had heard. All memory essays were scored for items of information said by Mary (the victim) that were favorable to herself, items said by Tom (the defendant) favorable to himself, and things said by both that were neutral, favoring neither of them. Becky reasoned, based on gender schema theory, that modern gender-schematics would process and remember more of Mary's testimony, whereas traditional schematics would process and remember more of Tom's testimony. However, the actual data were not consistent with these predictions. Modern gender-schematics did not differ from conservative gender-schematics, either in the number of items remembered from Mary's testimony, or in the number of items remembered from Tom's testimony. Thus these data do not offer much support for gender schema theory. One possible explanation is that we were not tapping gender self-schemas when we used the AWS rather than the BSRI, Bem's androgyny scale, but I would like the theory to be broad enough to work in a case such as Becky's.

In a second study, also a senior Honors project in 1982-83, Anne Newstedt set out to investigate some of the environmental inputs that would create a gender schema, in the "At-a-Girl" study. Bem speaks of a number of ways in which society emphasizes the dichotomy of gender to children, and thus creates the gender schema:

> The typical American child cannot help but observe, for example, that what parents, teachers, and peers consider to be appropriate behavior varies as a function of sex; that toys, clothing, occupations, hobbies, domestic chores—even pronouns—vary as a function of sex. (1981, p. 362)

Anne chose to focus on the language issue—"even pronouns"—as input to the gender schema. We had casually observed that parents often give gender-linked verbal reinforcers to their children (e.g., "at-a-girl") and we suspected that the frequency of gender-marked terms might be quite high. She observed and recorded mothers' natural speech to their 18-, 24-, or 36-month-old toddler. The mother and child engaged in a semi-structured task—working some puzzles—for approximately fifteen minutes while Anne tape-recorded their conversation. A total of twenty-eight mother-child pairs participated. Anne then prepared a typed transcription of each tape recording. Each transcript was coded for the frequency of utterances in fourteen categories. We decided to test an ambitious hypothesis: that mothers would refer to their child by gender more frequently than by name. The results indicated that mothers mentioned their child's name an average of 7.6 times per 15 minutes, compared with 3.3 mentions of the child's gender, a difference that was significant, but in a direction opposite to the hypothesis—that is, gender was mentioned less frequently than name. On the other hand, 3.3 mentions of gender per 15 minutes still seems rather high in some absolute sense. And when we looked at overall frequency of mentioning gender—not just referring to the child, but others as well—mothers mentioned gender on the average twenty-three times in fifteen minutes. Once again, this is a high frequency, consistent with Bem's ideas that gender is emphasized to children.

Following Bem's work, Anne also hypothesized that feminine gender-typed mothers would differ from androgynous mothers in their frequency of mentioning gender. Feminine mothers, for whom the gender schema is more salient, should mention gender more frequently than androgynous mothers, for whom the gender schema is not so salient. The actual data offered mixed results. For frequency of mentioning the child's gender, differences between androgynous and feminine mothers were in the predicted direction, but not significant. For overall mention of gender, differences between androgynous and feminine mothers were in a direction opposite to the prediction—that is, androgynous mothers mentioned gender more frequently than feminine mothers.

In sum, then, the "At-a-Girl" study provides some support, but not complete support for Bem's theory. Androgynous and feminine mothers do not differ in the predicted way in their frequency of mentioning gender; but gender is mentioned to children with a high frequency.

In one final study, Colette Picard is investigating heterosexuality schemas and homosexuality schemas for her senior Honors project this year. The study is still being designed, but I can at least give you some of the preliminary thoughts behind it. Heterosexuality is one of the key parts of traditional gender roles. For example, we assume that all women are heterosexual, that they are attracted to men, and that—if they are successful—men will be attracted to them. Bem points out that we probably have a heterosexuality schema—a loose set of associations that go with heterosexuality, including an assumption that all people are heterosexual. Incoming information about people and relationships is then processed and organized using the schema. One result of heterosexual-schematic processing might be various distortions in perception or memory, much as the children in the Martin & Halverson study distorted the gender-inconsistent pictures to make them consistent. One phenomenon I have found consistently when I teach my human sexuality course is probably an example. I show two films on homosexuality, one on men, one on women. Both include some scenes of explicit sexual activity. Students often report that, while watching the gay women, they start perceiving one member of the couple as being a man; that is, there is a perceptual distortion. In schema theory terms, the heterosexuality schema is so strong that it distorts incoming information about a same-gender couple having sex, and turns them into a heterosexual couple. Colette is pursuing various options for investigating effects such as this.

Implications and Applications

The possible implications and applications of gender schema theory are many. I want to focus on two here: the implications for child-rearing, and the implications for the process of social change.

Bem (1983) published an article in Signs on the implications of her theory for feminist child-rearing; the title was "Raising Gender-aschematic Children in a Gender-schematic Society," which provides a preview of what her goals are. Her basic argument is that, as long as people carry gender schemas in their heads, we will have stereotypes and we will have inequality. The only way to get rid of those things we dislike—Bem is an ardent feminist—is to do something about the schemas. Because the schemas develop and become entrenched in childhood, we should direct our efforts at child-rearing.

Her basic suggestion is that we should try to raise gender-aschematic children, that is, children who do not have this complex network of associations to gender and the gender dichotomy. This would involve doing many things. Children's picturebooks would have to be modified. Bem herself has done this with her children. For example, she cuts and pastes male and female heads into pictures so that her children are seeing doctors and firefighters as males and females with equal frequency. Therefore, her children should have learned no association between maleness, doctors, and firefighters. But all of this, of course, is not easy, because whatever she does in the family, her children must still interact with the outside world, which contains legions of stimuli all straining to produce gender schemas in children. Bem's solutions are several. First, she teaches her children that gender is defined in purely biological terms: that is, a person with a penis is a male and a person with a vagina is a female, and there are no other differences. Feminists have generally been wary of emphasizing biological differences between males and females; but ironically, Bem comes back to this notion. She sees it as the only way of defining gender without creating the whole web of other associations to it. She tells the story of her son, who wore a barrette to preschool one day. One of the other little boys teased him, saying that he must be a girl if he was wearing a barrette. He said no, that he wasn't. The argument continued for several rounds, with him insisting that he was a boy because he had a penis, and the other boy maintaining that the barrette factor was critical. Finally, the little Bem boy pulled down his pants to display the final proof, no doubt winning the argument. Bem's point is that children should be taught that reproductive anatomy and only reproductive anatomy defines gender. Barrettes do not.

Further, Bem urges that children be taught the concepts of "sexism" and "cultural relativism." Children should be taught from an early age that sexism exists, because it will help children make sense of many things they observe in the environment outside the feminist home. The cultural relativism concept will help them understand that some families or institutions (such as the schools) may have different standards or customs from their own family. For example, in some families boys may not be allowed to wear barrettes, but in our family it is acceptable, because we know that the only differences between boys and girls are their penis or vagina.

Finally, she suggests that parents prepare themselves with plenty of counterexamples to give their children whenever the children begin to articulate a stereotypic rule such as "Only men can be doctors." Prior preparation is important. When my daughter Margaret stated her rule, I had a ready counterexample, Dr. Judy Held. But on another occasion she said that only women could be nurses. I said that men could be nurses. She said, "Name names." I couldn't. My argument was clearly less effective.

I want to close with a consideration of the implications of Bem's theory for the feminist process of social change more generally. The theory, it seems to me, must predict that the process of social change will be slower and more difficult than might seem to be the case to the casual observer. The reason is that people's gender schemas will act to filter out or distort information that is inconsistent with their gender schema. Feminists have tended to argue that getting women into traditionally male occupations will produce beneficial results, one of them being the reduction of stereotypes. But gender schema theory would say that increasing the percentage of female physicians will not necessarily change people's belief that physicians are male, because the already-existing gender schema will filter out or distort inconsistent information. For example, someone who sees a female physician walking past while in the hospital may store in memory the information that she was a nurse. We would do well to be aware of this process when we try to create social change. The picture is not totally depressing, because schemas can change in response to information from the environment; but we should recognize that the change will be complex and difficult.

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IN SEARCH OF EXCELLENCE IN ACADEMIC LIBRARIES
OR,
CHALLENGING THE HENHOUSE MODEL

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For the past ten years I have worked in academic libraries, first in New Jersey, then in Kentucky, and now in Indiana. Whether working within a library, visiting other libraries, attending professional meetings, or having job interviews, I have observed that the directors of academic libraries are nearly always men. Until July 1, 1983, for example, eleven of the twelve GLCA libraries were headed by men. My observations have led me to joke with my peers (primarily women) that the hierarchy of library employees resembles a henhouse. In this model the male director equals the rooster (or cock) who "rules the roost." He does the crowing and strutting, flaunting his authority and reporting on the production of the group beneath him. The women of the library comprise a large flock of hens, sometimes described as "old biddies," who do the primary work of the henhouse. These hens have their "pecking order" and occasionally are observed pecking on each other.

Although I consider this model a humorous parody of my profession, the fact that women have a difficult time becoming directors of academic libraries is no joke. Since 1980 several major studies have examined the status of women in libraries. The statistics from these studies document the hierarchy of the henhouse model and describe the career paths of the roosters and hens. As a woman with management ambitions, however, I am looking for methods and a new model which will encourage women to assume their rightful place in academic library management. Therefore I am asking these questions: What jobs do women usually have in libraries? What factors determine whether a woman can become and succeed as a library director? What management techniques and philosophies contribute to a feminist management style which will promote excellence in academic libraries?

Librarian Profile[1]

In 1979 the American Library Association's Committee on the Status of Women in Librarianship received a grant to fund a project titled, "A Pilot Profile of the Women Members of the American Library Association." Kathleen Heim and Leigh Estabrook developed a questionnaire which was sent to 3,000 randomly selected ALA personal members. Of these 3,000, 67.1% responded. I was one who answered this questionnaire.

From their survey, Heim and Estabrook found the following facts and trends: 1) in 1980 the ALA membership was 75.8% female and 24.1% male; 2) women predominate in school and public libraries, while men predominate in academic libraries; 3) the director level is held by 28.9% of the men in the sample, but by only 11.2% of the women; adding in middle management positions, men had 57.8% of the jobs and women only 32.7%; 4) overall, women are concentrated in lower-paying, lower-status jobs; 5) women managers tend to have less supervisory responsibility than men; 6) men publish three times as many books and four times as many articles as women; 7) the percentage of men is greater at every level of professional involvement; and 8) on the average, women's salaries are 75% of the men's. Within each type of library, men's average salaries are greater than women's average salaries. In 1980, for example, the mean salary for academic librarians was $14,850 for women and $20,520 for men.

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[1] From Leigh S. Estabrook and Kathleen M. Heim, "A Profile of ALA Personal Members," American Libraries, 11 (December 1980), 654-59.

Heim and Estabrook probed deeper on the salary issue and identified the factors which influence salary: number of professionals supervised, number of publications, sex, age, race, date of receiving the MLS. Their conclusion was:

> In both academic and public libraries the sex of individuals is a significant predictor of their salary when all other variables we considered are held constant. Thus we can say that even in circumstances where women and men publish at the same rate, supervise the same number of professionals or non-professionals, receive the MLS at the same time, or are the same age, women are likely to earn lower salaries than men.[2]

In a follow-up study,[3] Heim and Estabrook focussed on the career variables of respondents who were active librarians who received the MLS before 1971 and were therefore at the age for management positions. This group totaled 739 persons, of whom 544 were women and 195 were men. Of these persons, nearly 71% of the men had attained top or middle management positions, as compared to less than 40% of the women.

Again the investigators determined the factors which might account for the disparity in management positions held by men and women librarians. Personal and family factors, such as mobility, marital status and leave time, were similar for both sexes and did not affect status. Heim and Estabrook also examined professional education, overall career pattern, and professional achievement. The particular graduate school attended did not have a strong impact on career. Basically, both the men and women who achieved in management had held different positions in different organizations. Finally, the women who became managers were more like the male managers in their involvement in professional organizations and publishing than they were like women lower in the ranks.

Another recent study[4] looked at the career patterns of academic library administrators between the interval of 1970 and 1980. Barbara Moran surveyed academic librarians who were assistant or associate library directors in 1970. Then in 1980 she traced nearly two-thirds of these same persons to determine their present career status and factors influencing that status. The results of her study differ in some regards from Heim and Estabrook's study. Moran determined that there was no relationship between any of the variables examined and success achieved by the women. Contrarily, most of the variables were significant for success for men. Therefore Moran found two distinct career patterns, one for women and one for men.

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[2] Ibid., p. 659.

[3] Kathleen M. Heim and Leigh S. Estabrook, "Career Patterns of Librarians," Drexel Library Quarterly, 17 (Summer 1981), pp. 35-51.

[4] Barbara B. Moran, "Career Patterns of Academic Library Administrators," College and Research Libraries (September 1983), pp. 334-44.

In brief, a man can become a director if he gets his professional degrees, participates in professional organizations, does some publishing, and makes a series of career moves to work in different libraries. A wife and family are an asset. However, a man must reach his directorship before the age of 50, or his chances for achieving it are diminished.

The women in this study of directors were older than the men, were usually unmarried, and did not have large families. As a group, they had fewer advanced degrees than the men, and had less publishing and professional involvement. Nearly 70% of the women directors were employed in private institutions, as compared to 26.8% of the men. The striking finding in this study was that the women usually rose up through the ranks in one library. They became directors through proven competence in their institutions. Moran concludes that something is seriously wrong in our profession: "If a profession that is 80 percent female has such a fear and distrust of females as directors that only a female who has been a long-term success as an administrator is likely to be hired as a director, then something is seriously wrong with the perception of females as library administrators."[5]

Academic Profile

I agree with Moran that something is wrong within librarianship, but I hold that something is wrong, too, within academia. Librarians alone do not hire library directors. Presidents, deans and faculty participate in the hiring process. Who are the academic presidents, deans and faculty? Three to one, men outnumber women in academia.[6] Women are slowly making progress in obtaining administrative positions, but as of 1979, women and minority group members together held only 22.9% of the administrative jobs.[7] As in libraries, women administrators are found more often in private institutions, particularly in women's colleges. A study done in 1979 by the College and University Personnel Association found that "a fourth of the white women who were employed as top-level administrators at public, coeducational, predominantly white institutions held one of four jobs: dean of nursing, director of library services, bookstore manager, or registrar."[8] Further, "white men held at least 94 percent of the chief-executive jobs and about 80 percent of the administrative-affairs and academic-affairs positions."[9]

A recent report in the Chronicle of Higher Education listed some of the obstacles that women face that men don't as they try for administrative positions:

1. Governing boards composed mostly of men.
2. Members of search committees who . . . fear that women lack budgetary and fund-raising experience.
3. An unwillingness to relocate on the part of married women who might otherwise apply for presidencies—particularly those whose husbands have lucrative jobs.
4. The lack of a feminine counterpart to the informal, but highly influential, "old boy" networks, to which women do not generally have access. Those

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[5] Ibid., p. 344.
[6] "Despite Gains, Women, Minority-group Members Lag in College Jobs," Chronicle of Higher Education (February 3, 1982), p. 4.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.

> networks . . . provide information and support to men in upper-level positions.[10]

These obstacles are also faced by women librarians, since the library is a microcosm of the larger academic institution. Further, the progress of women in library administration is closely related to the progress of women in academic administration. Since we can't control boards of trustees or, in effect, kill off "the old red roosters," what can women librarians and faculty do to get these administrative positions? Are we content to bide our time, doing a good job, waiting for that internal promotion which seems to be the norm for those few women who make it to the top? If we want to end the inequities in salary, in promotion and tenure, and in job responsibilities and opportunities, then we need to do two things: 1) unite; and 2) look for, define, and work toward a new model that replaces the henhouse.

Before women can be effective in changing the existing male-dominated system, they must unite, a point stressed by Eleanor Smeal, past president of NOW, when she spoke at DePauw this fall. Academic women need to form their own structures which can develop and sponsor new leaders. We need to have our own networks which can intersect with and interact with the "old boy" system. Staff committees, Women's Studies committees, the GLCA Women's Studies group, and the National Identification Program sponsored by the American Council on Education's Office of Women are resource structures which should be finding, recruiting, and promoting women with management ambition and ability. We need internships and exchange programs for experience. We should work together to create and sponsor such programs.

A New Model

Finally, having observed the henhouse model and determined that it is no longer appropriate or satisfactory for women, we must look for, define, and work toward a new organizational model. The process of developing a successful organizational model is obviously of great concern to society, particularly business and industry, judging from the quantity of literature on the subject. One of this year's best sellers is In Search of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best-Run Companies[11] by Thomas J. Peters and Robert H. Waterman, industrial consultants. From their visits and discussions with seventy-five highly regarded companies, Peters and Waterman identified eight attributes that characterize the excellent, innovative companies.

I can advocate consideration of the management concepts in In Search of Excellence because I am seeing them work successfully in the DePauw University Libraries. For the first time in my career I am working with a woman library director. This woman is motivating the staff and administering the transformation of a library ripe for change. She is basing many of her strategies on those principles and examples in Peters and Waterman's book, and thus far the changes are positive. Therefore, I will examine these principles for their application to the academic library as an organization and for their application of feminist principles.

A bias for action. The first attribute is "a bias for action." Does the word "action" evoke an image of the libraries that you are most familiar with? Libraries are traditionally regarded as quiet places, and librarians have been stereotyped as constantly shushing patrons. However, libraries can and must change to be responsive to the changing needs of their clientele. An action orientation means moving forward and getting things done.

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[10] "Efforts to Place Women as Heads of Colleges Gain Momentum," Chronicle of Higher Education (April 20, 1981), pp. 5-6.

[11] Thomas J. Peters and Robert H. Waterman, In Search of Excellence: Lessons From America's Best-Run Companies (New York: Harper and Row, 1982).

A library director who has a bias for action establishes an informal style; has an open door policy (listens to any employee or patron); minimizes bureaucratic processes; keeps in constant, informal contact with staff; writes and requests only brief written documents. The library staff, in task forces, work on problems with short-term deadlines, setting their own goals. The director and department heads are willing to try things out and experiment.

In this active environment, women librarians at all levels will participate more in the decision-making processes of the library. As they gain experience, they will develop their leadership skills and credentials. Thus they will be prepared and encouraged to become managers and directors.

Close to the customer. The primary customers of the academic library are the students, faculty and administration. Libraries are considered academic support because their function is service. Peters and Waterman found that the excellent companies defined themselves as service businesses. The purpose of the company is not met unless the customer's needs are met.

Academic libraries, at least in small colleges and universities, can justify their existence and budget requests only through their service objectives. It is not enough just to buy books, process them, and store them. The materials must be checked out, and students/faculty must feel that they have found the information that they needed. The library's task is to satisfy the patron's needs and anticipate her or his wants. The library director must be personally involved in giving service, and the whole staff must be people-oriented, that is, friendly, helpful and concerned.

Frequently women are the library staff who are most visible at the service desks in reference and circulation. We can use this front-line position to advantage by cultivating close working relationships with faculty and students. In particular, women faculty and librarians can benefit each other as contacts for academic and professional support.

Hands-on, value-driven. The library's function of service presumes underlying values. The library as an organization will not be able to perform service unless each individual within the staff shares these values. Therefore it is important that the staff, under the director's leadership, participate together in establishing the library's mission, goals and objectives. These statements will then reflect what the whole organization stands for and is working toward. Basic values which make an excellent organization (p. 285) are:

1. A belief in being the "best";
2. A belief in the importance of the details of execution, the nuts and bolts of doing the job well;
3. A belief in the importance of people as individuals;
4. A belief in superior quality and service;
5. A belief that most members of the organization should be innovators, and its corollary, the willingness to support failure;
6. A belief in the importance of informality to enhance communication;
7. Explicit belief in and recognition of the importance of economic growth and profits.

For the library, this last value should be modified to: explicit belief in and recognition of the importance of economic accountability, that the academic institution is getting its money's worth.

Productivity though people. With a library staff committed to these values, excellence is assured. Each person will feel good about her- or himself, will understand the value of the work, will perform well. Likewise the academic institution which holds these values will excel. When the faculty and staff believe that they are the best, doing their best, the college will have a positive climate. Women students and faculty will thrive and develop where these values are stated and practiced.

Autonomy and entrepreneurship. An emphasis on service, values, and productivity will definitely affect the library staff in other ways. An atmosphere which supports intense, informal communication will produce change. Over coffee breaks, or at impromptu meetings, staff will talk about problems and come up with solutions. Action will follow. Individuals will actively look for improvements in the work because they will be recognized for doing so. Each work section or department will need autonomy to act on change. Department heads will be supported by the director, and the informal communication among the managers will be frequent.

A system which promotes autonomy and entrepreneurship will nurture women who have initiative and imagination. Individuals will be distinguished and will gain management skills. The women of the library will also develop teamwork as they solve problems which they have identified. The whole library will benefit as the women staff develop.

Simple form, lean staff. Excellent companies have discovered that a large staff, over 1,000 employees under one roof, is less productive than a smaller staff. Small work units are actually the most efficient and productive. The small academic library can be an ideal organization with a director, several department heads as team leaders, and a committed small group of support staff. Inter-departmental task forces can form and disband for problem-solving.

Stick to the knitting. Peters and Waterman include this point to explain that unlimited diversification dilutes a company's effectiveness and usually produces losses. The excellent companies have a main specialty and add new products or sidelines only after extensive testing and investigation. Should libraries add computers, tutorial centers, education labs, media centers, etc., even though the function of all these units is service to the academic institution? Are specialized staff needed to manage and coordinate these enterprises, and what is their relationship to the other library staff? A mission statement should clarify just what the "knitting" is and the extent to which the garment should be knitted.

Simultaneous loose-tight properties. Peters and Waterman conclude their book with this summary attribute. Essentially it means "the co-existence of firm central direction and maximum individual autonomy" (p. 318). A library managed by this concept would have a strong director in control who would insist on autonomy, entrepreneurship and innovation from the other staff. This will be feasible because of shared values and attention to the details of the library's work.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the henhouse model is defective and therefore unsatisfactory because it presumes and enforces gender-based work roles. Yet the successful companies which Peters and Waterman examined are, as far as I can tell, still patriarchal corporations.

I recall no example in the book of a venture founded and organized by women. I don't believe any woman's name even appears in the book, aside from that of the research librarian who assisted the authors in editing.

The challenge which women librarians face is finding a model which will be traditional enough to give them entry into the male-dominated structures and which will still be flexible enough to allow for the development of a feminist management style. In so doing, we need to examine the hierarchical system and look for ways to provide challenge and growth to both the women and the men in the organization. A beehive model with a queen at the top and drones beneath will not suffice. We need a model where women and men can work together in an equally participative and remunerative mode.

LEVELS OF FEMALE CRIMINAL ACTIVITY AS A CORRELATE OF FEMALE SOCIETAL POWER

Yvonne C. Williams, The College of Wooster

My presentation today represents research in progress. It does not propose definitive answers to the questions it raises. I am interested in exploring links between economy and crime—such as what connection there is between the increased numbers of women in the labor market and an increase in women's "status" in society. One hypothesis presented here is that such is not the case, since women still occupy lower-level jobs. A second, related question is whether the increased participation of women in criminal activities indicates increased power. Again, I contend that this is not the case, since the kinds of crimes that women are increasingly committing are crimes of powerlessness—larceny, petty theft and the like.

As the nature of our society has changed, the role and perception of women has changed concomitantly, as has the nature of crime. With all the recent attention afforded women's changing role in society, it is surprising that there have been no contemporary comprehensive studies of female criminality. Those studies that do exist are in no sense of the word "comprehensive," and are, more often than not, primarily concerned with the female criminal after arrest and/or incarceration.

One partial explanation for the paucity of research in the area of female criminal behavior is the fact that until recent years, female crime had not constituted any significant portion of overall crime. In this century the increase in female criminal activity has been so gradual in the United States as to be almost imperceptible until the last decade or so. The new concern for the female criminal began to come to the fore as incarceration disparities between male and female prisoners were publicized in the late 1960's. The spread of this awareness was accelerated by the contemporary feminist movement. As the crime rate among women increased in the last decade, societal concern about the problem mounted. In the past three years, the number of women being imprisoned has increased at almost twice the rate of men being imprisoned, although even now, only four percent of those incarcerated in this country are women.[1]

The increasing numbers of females in penal institutions indicate an increasing number of female arrests, which in turn suggests an upturn in criminal activity among women. Statistics show little increase in the female crime rate in this country over the last century, until 1967. Why? If, indeed, female criminal behavior is changing, what accounts for this change? Why is it important to deal with female criminality? Are there gender-specific systemic conditions which give rise to criminal behavior? If such conditions exist, what are the implications of their existence for public policy decisions? The desire to answer such questions has led to the present study.

Traditional studies of female criminality, like those of criminality in general, have focused primarily on the biological, physiological and pyschological nature of women.

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1. New York Times, 28 November 1982.

The traditional view of criminal behavior as an individual characteristic has prevailed. In their original treatise on female criminality, written in 1899, Cesare Lombroso and William Ferrero related female criminality to "biological atavisms," as determined by cranial size and certain anomalies in the structure of the skull.[2] According to Lombroso and Ferrero, these hereditary traits should be controlled by prohibiting women offenders from bearing children. Lombroso's and Ferrero's view was that normal women were simply too unintelligent and passive to be criminals. In other words, criminal activity was the exclusive purview of males, and any departure from the traditional submissive female role was a biological aberration.

The Glueck studies of the 1930's continued to rely on biological determinism of female criminality but postulated a theory of physiolcgical determinism as well.[3] Although the Gluecks' investigations were primarily devoted to female delinquents, they concurred with Lombroso and Ferrero in concluding that the criminal inclination in women affected their physical development. The latter two researchers averred that violent women automatically become physically strong, while some females who are predisposed to criminality simply develop in more physically attractive ways, thus becoming prostitutes rather than murderesses.[4]

Pollak also agreed with the early theorists that the direct causes of female criminality are biological and physiological. Pollak's work suggested that women's criminality was delayed because they are subjected to physiological crises that do not occur in men. Additionally, Pollak maintained that females' lack of physical strength leads to deceit, and therefore to specific kinds of crime; their physiology leads to concealment of feelings in the sphere of sex relations. His theories draw heavily on the Freudian concept of penis envy, i.e., women become criminals in order to be more like men.[5] Pollak basically attributes female criminality to the "biological nature of women in a given cultural setting."[6]

Edwin Sutherland theorized that males are ten times as criminalistically inclined as females, basing the assumption on the evidence of the numbers of each sex sent to prison. But, he also noted, "males are five times as likely to be killed by lightning. Is this a sex difference, or a result of differences in occupation, or the general method of life, or something else?"[7] With that statement, Sutherland took the first major step in reevaluating the explanations of female criminality, recognizing that the circumstances of male and female criminal activity may differ. Pollak also suggested these possibilities but failed to develop any empirical framework within which to consider their potential. In his 1950 study, Pollak admitted the possible influence of social factors in producing deviant behavior in women. He noted that as early as the 1870's, researchers predicted an increase in female crime as social equalization progressed and as more women entered the working force.[8]

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[2] Cesare Lombroso and William Ferrero, The Female Offender (New York: Appleton and Company, 1899).

[3] Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, Four Hundred Delinquent Women (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934).

[4] Lombroso and Ferrero, 1899.

[5] See Otto Pollak, The Criminality of Women (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950).

[6] Ibid.

[7] Edwin H. Sutherland, Principles of Criminology, 4th ed. (Chicago: J.B. Lippincott, 1947).

[8] Pollak, 1950.

In spite of serious contradictions in their "findings," Lombroso's and Ferrero's work is considered a pioneering study and, along with Freudian concepts, is unfortunately still the basis for much of what goes on in female criminogenic studies. None of this work substantiates any viable theory of female criminality. No serious challenge has been made to the classic studies of Lombroso and Ferrero, Pollak and others.[9] Little account has been taken of cultural and ideological changes which have occurred in our society since their work was done, although some contemporary writers have suggested that the so-called emancipation of women is responsible for the decreasing differential in female and male delinquency and crime.[10] They suggest that the institution of new social roles for women has increased the economic pressures on women and provided greater opportunities for criminal activities.[11]

Thus, while it would be inaccurate to say that no attention has been given to women in the study of criminal activity, the context in which the problem has been addressed has been inadequate to establish any valid theories regarding female criminality. The literature does not address the systemic causes of female criminal activity. We need to move away from the sociologically-based causal explanations of female criminality dependent on role, physiology and/or psyche; instead, we need to look at structural societal factors.

I would like now to give a brief overview of my research, which examines statistical evidence of the societal characteristics which may influence female criminal behavior relative to male criminal activity, in the hope of then finding suitable policy mechanisms for altering those characteristics.[12] Thus I am embracing an ecological approach which seeks causes of criminal behavior in conditions which might be changed without changing the social order. The study is at best preliminary and the conclusions are tentative, but it does begin to link structural factors to levels of female crime based on the correlation and regression analyses which I have pursued. They are extensive.[13]

One example of these analyses is shown in Table 1. If we look at the relationship between male and female property crime in each state (using 1972 statistical data), we see a great diversity in correlation scores. This suggests that different ecological elements are influencing male and female criminal behavior with respect to property. There is less divergence in the scores associated with violent crime (see Table 2). This offers evidence that the ties between male and female violent crime are stronger than

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[9] For example, see Glueck, Four Hundred Delinquent Women; J. Cowie, V. Cowie and Eliot Slater, Delinquency in Girls (London: Heinemann, 1968).

[10] Donald J. Mulvihill, Melvin M. Tumin and Lynn A. Curtis, Crimes of Violence (Washington, D.C.: National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, 1969), Vol. 11, pp. 14-16.

[11] Rita J. Simon, "American Women and Crime," in Louise J. Shelley, ed., Readings in Comparative Criminology (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981), pp. 1-3.

[12] Yvonne C. Williams, "Structural Aspects of Female Criminality in the United States: Aggregate Analysis and Policy Implications." Ph.D. Dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1981.

[13] We first utilized Pearson's correlation coefficient r to determine the strength of the relationship of given male crime rates to female crime rates. These relationships become more clearly defined by the construction of principal component factors for each crime category. This technique allows us to extract the most important variables with shared relationships from a larger set, and then to determine to what extent these specific factors account for degrees of variance between the variables.

TABLE 1

FACTOR SCORES BY STATE: A COMPARISON OF MALE AND FEMALE PROPERTY CRIME FACTORS*

STATE	MALE	FEMALE
AL	.03	-.73
AZ	.77	.37
AR	-.59	-1.96
CA	2.60	1.50
CO	1.59	1.05
CN	-.75	-.75
DE	1.15	1.96
DC	2.05	3.48
FL	.63	.70
GA	-.42	-.71
ID	-.33	.00
IL	-.93	-.77
IN	-.80	-.61
IO	-.70	-.62
KA	-.20	-.23
KY	-.04	-.30
LA	.62	.26
MA	-.50	-.25
MD	.57	1.00
MS	.41	-.38
MC	.18	.67
MN	-.82	-.69
MI	-1.04	-1.43
MO	-.01	.30
MT	-.49	-.71
NB	-.39	-.35
NV	3.64	1.68
NH	-.73	-.09
NJ	.54	1.28
NM	1.30	.94
NY	.25	.52
NC	.42	.16
ND	-1.17	-1.09
OH	-.59	-.55
OK	.65	.37
OR	.10	.66
PA	-.98	-.66
RI	.49	.41
SC	-.07	-.05
SD	-1.08	-1.46
TE	-.69	-.84
TX	-.25	-.26
UT	-.12	-.39
VT	-1.77	-2.05
VA	-.27	-.19
WA	-.34	-.27
WV	-.82	-.63
WI	.03	.07
WY	-.80	-.23

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*Based on factors derived through factor analysis as explained above.

TABLE 2

FACTOR SCORES BY STATE: A COMPARISON OF MALE AND FEMALE VIOLENT CRIME FACTORS*

STATE	MALE	FEMALE	STATE	MALE	FEMALE
AL	.04	-.38	NB	-.62	-.47
AZ	-.05	.06	NV	.53	2.31
AR	-.80	.11	NH	-.83	-.93
CA	.92	1.47	NJ	.13	.03
CO	.00	.09	NM	1.23	.56
CN	-.71	-.86	NY	.73	.64
DE	.30	-.10	NC	1.20	1.29
DC	5.46	4.23	ND	1.00	-1.19
FL	.51	.96	OH	-.22	-.12
GA	.09	.78	OK	.14	.34
ID	-.40	-.57	OR	-.23	-.48
IL	-.62	-.89	PA	-.08	-.47
IN	-.43	-.61	RI	-.42	-.77
IO	-.81	-.94	SC	.97	1.13
KA	-.50	-.58	SD	-.98	-.81
KY	.45	.27	TE	-.07	.01
LA	.65	.83	TX	.05	.26
MA	-.55	-.87	UT	-.63	-.91
MD	.78	.68	VT	-1.12	-1.31
MS	-.24	-.52	VA	.25	.29
MC	.14	.09	WA	-.64	-.74
MN	-.90	-1.04	WV	-.47	-.58
MI	-.33	-.18	WI	-.60	-.61
MO	.56	.43	WY	-.15	1.02
MT	-.73	-.91			

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*Based on factors derived through factor analysis as explained above.

those involved in property crime. If both categories were subject to the same influences, the patterns of the factor scores would have a greater similarity.

My research also shows that there is a higher correlation between male and female violent crime than for any other category, and yet women's participation in violent crime is decreasing; there is a diminishing relationship between male and female property crime and even greater dispersion between male and female white-collar crime, and that is the area which needs additional research.

Using those structural factors which I have identified, plus some demographic factors which address population, population density, percent of population change, per capita income, extent of urbanization, rate of doctors, level of divorce, and dependency (women on welfare, receiving food stamps), I have been able to identify specific but complex relationships between systemic factors and female criminality, resulting in a new model of causality.

By a set of regression and factor analyses I have explained 65 percent of female violent crime not specifically related to male crime, 60 percent of female property crime, but only 12 percent of white-collar crime. The evidence shows that the kinds and levels of crimes women commit are related to their social well-being as defined by these demographic factors, as well as related to the degree of economic independence which they exhibit—to the control over their own lives, to the number of female heads of households, to the level of education, to access to health care. Female criminal activity is also related to social stresss, as defined by welfare dependency and divorce.

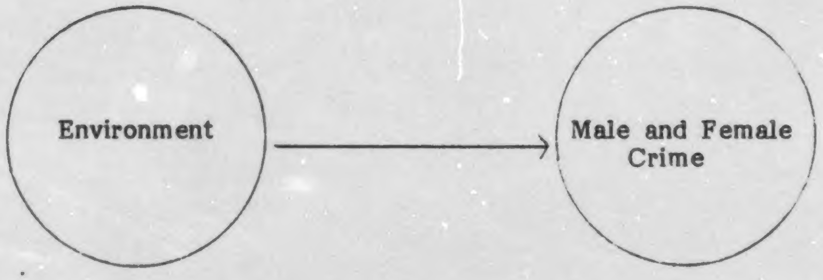
It is not clear that women's increased participation in crime is merely a result of misguided feminist inclination to imitate male behavior. There may indeed be identifiable gender-based variables which are significantly more predictive of female criminal behavior in the aggregate than any of the indicators which have been utilized to date. My work attempts to relate certain theoretically relevant indicators such as female heads of household, females in the labor force, societal support of education, numbers of families on welfare, etc., to the female crime rate in each state. If significant relationships can be determined, we will be in a better position to influence public policy to alter these structural characteristics in order to decrease female criminal behavior.

There are two relevant models which have been developed in the work I have done, which address female criminal behavior. My earlier research suggests that they supersede what has been the traditional approach of criminologists in the study of crime. The traditional model (see Fig. 1), which established that there are environmental factors which affect criminal behavior, precludes any differentiation between male and female criminal behavior. In a second model (see Fig. 2), there are environmental factors which affect both male and female criminal behavior, with some correlation between the two kinds of behavior. That model, which is coming more to the fore in criminogenic studies, has guided certain aspects of my work. A third model, which is beginning to be developed in my work (see Fig. 3), indicates that there is an additional set of environmental or structural factors in our society which affect only female crime. This final model shows that both female and male crimes are related to some extent, but that as certain structural factors which affect crime change, certain areas of female crime will be less significantly correlated to male crime. Thus, as women increase their control over their lives, they will create their own models of behavior which will differ from the traditional ones. They will be affected by different phenomena and will attend more specifically to their particular needs. As a result, their criminal behavior will become more independent from the criminal behavior of males.

Figure 1

Environmental Determinants of Female Criminality

Model 1

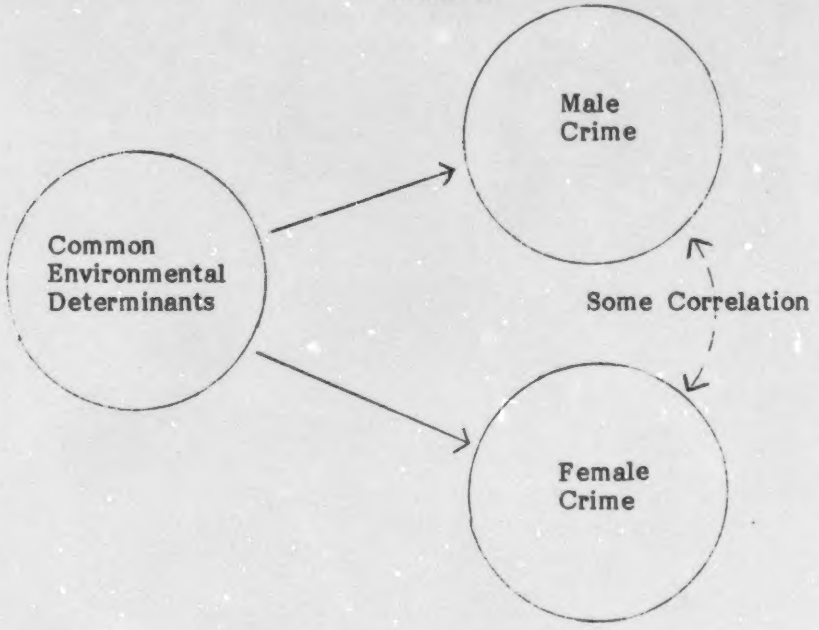

Environment
Male and Female Crime

Traditional view based on the assumption that there is no significant difference in the causal factors affecting male and female criminal behavior.

Figure 2

Environmental Determinants of Female Criminality

Model 2

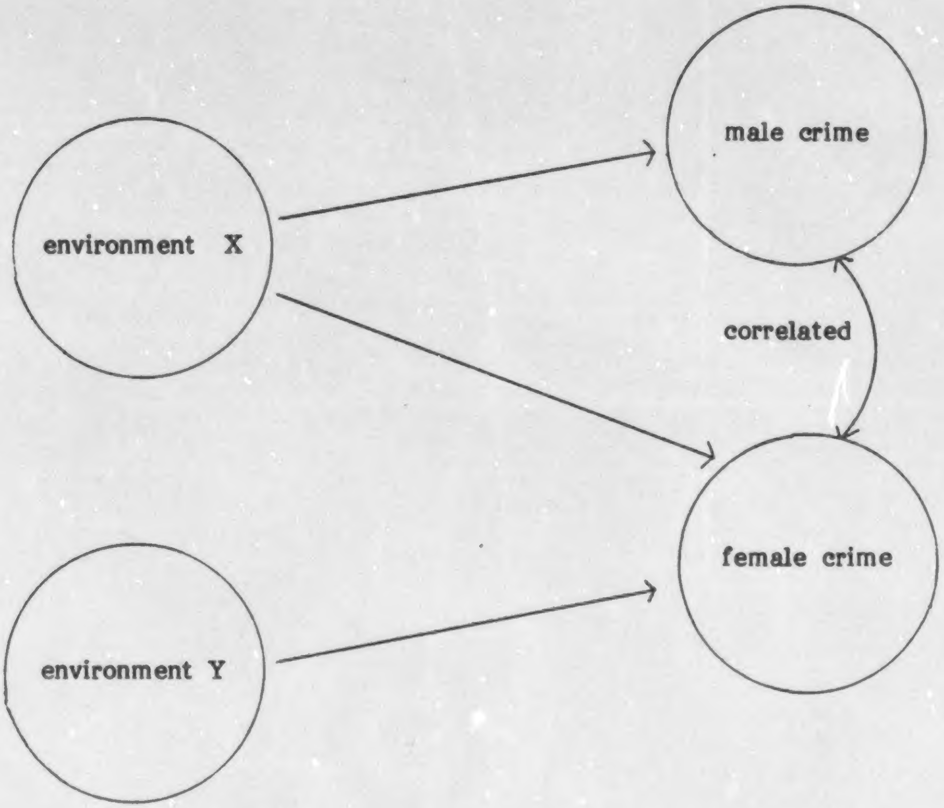

Male Crime
Common Environmental Determinants
Some Correlation
Female Crime

Representing a more contemporary view that female crime is influenced by the same causal factors and is linked to male crime, but has a distinct configuration.

Figure 3

Environmental Determinants of Female Criminality

Model 3


male crime
environment X
correlated
female crime
environment Y

This work suggests that there are common environmental conditions which affect male and female criminal behavior, but there is also a gender-specific environment which specifically impacts on female crime behavior.

If there is power involved in the commission of crime, as the level of women's criminal behavior increases, women will commit different crimes than men, which is what we have found to be the case. As I indicated earlier, this work is tentative and hypothetical, but some of my findings indicate that women's increased criminal activity does not really reflect an increased control over their lives. It is possible that this increased criminal activity can be linked to relatively poor and worsening economic conditions for women, rather than to greater independence.. The logical explanation, then, is not women's liberation.[14]

My preliminary investigation shows that the increase of female criminal activity is in the area of white-collar crime rather than in the area of property or violent crime. As a matter of fact, the number of women being arrested for violent crime has decreased in the last seven years, while the number of women arrested for white-collar crime has increased four-fold. However, there are different categories of white-collar crime. Women rarely embezzle. They are simply are not present in the halls of power where embezzlement becomes a possibility. They are, however, inordinately represented at the lower levels of white-collar crime which involve larceny, larceny by trick (shoplifting), small con games, passing bad checks and forgery. These kinds of petty theft are the types of crimes that represent greater dependency in societal terms. Their increase reflects the fact that as more women work outside the home, they are not necessarily closing the economic gap. In fact, Ellen Boneparth has reported that the earnings differential has increased between men and women over the last 30 years. Between 1950 and 1980 women's participation in the labor market almost doubled. But their earnings in that same period of time have decreased: in 1955, women earned 64 percent of what men were earning, but in 1980 women earned a mere 59 percent of what men earned.[15]

These figures show that women's role status has not significantly changed. If this phenomenon is considered in relation to criminal activity, we must conclude that the crimes women are committing do not indicate greater control over their lives.

I have also been asking another question: Are there proven differences in male and female crime cultures? This refers not only to the levels of criminal activity, but to the kinds of crime being committed. Again, my work gives evidence that this question can be answered in the affirmative. I have asked in what ways and places female crime is related to and follows male crime, and what accounts for that relationship. The specifics of that situation are addressed through Model 2. I have tried also to determine whether there is a unique set of environmental determinants for each gender's criminal behavior, as illustrated in Model 3.

The theoretical model (Fig. 3) which I have developed in this study is in no sense intended to be definitive, but rather heuristic and suggestive of future directions for research on the causes of female criminality. In the interest of time today, I have given only an outline of the work I am doing. A considerable amount of work has already been done; however, there is more to do if we are to account for the increase in female participation in crime and if indeed, as Simon has suggested, greater independence is a factor in that increased criminal activity.[16]

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14. Elizabeth Fry Moulds, "Women's Crime, Women's Justice," in E. Boneparth, ed., Women, Power and Policy (New York: Pergamon Press, 1982), p. 214.
15. Ellen Boneparth, ed., Women, Power and Policy (New York: Pergamon Press, 1982), p. 72.
16. Simon, 1981, p. 5.

If we can isolate a set of social indicators within the political characteristics of our social system and establish some relationship between those variables and certain phenomena in our system (in this case, female criminal behavior), we may be able to create policies which can influence development within that system, rather than simply reacting to such development. If, as Lucian Pye has suggested, public policy is always in flux because new problems and situations demand new approaches to solutions,[17] then we must undoubtedly take a new look at female crime and its meaning for our society.

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[17] Lucian W. Pye, Aspects of Political Development (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966), p. 31.

A COMPARISON OF THE MOVEMENTS TOWARD EQUALITY IN YUGOSLAVIA AND ENGLAND

Ellen Weisman, Oberlin College

In both Yugoslavia and England, women are involved in creating new positions of equality for themselves in their societies. Women in both societies seek the goals of 1) changing generally held cultural assumptions enforcing women's subservience; 2) expanding educational and occupational opportunities open to women; 3) improving women's legal and political status; and 4) lightening the burden of working women who run households and raise children. Yet despite these common goals, the processes of change occurring in British and Yugoslav society differ considerably. Because the two societies have experienced unique historical, cultural, political, and economic circumstances, the strategies developed within each society for attaining equality have differed accordingly. The most basic of these differences has been the differing political movements—socialism and feminism respectively—which have brought about social change for women in Yugoslavia and England.

Though a feminist movement did at one time exist in Yugoslavia, it was ultimately socialism which transformed and is still in the process of transforming the woman's position in Yugoslav society. Prior to the socialist revolution (1941-1945), women were restricted by the laws and cultural rules of their particular region. According to Vida Tomsic, who represents the new socialist government's official views on women,[1] though Yugoslavia's principal religious communities (Serbian Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Moslem) varied to a degree in their treatment of women, in general "discrimination against women was traditional and officially condoned in all parts of the country"; women were denied political rights and education in many areas, were excluded from many professions, received lower pay for equal work, and were legally treated as dependent on their fathers, husbands, or even sons.[2]

Feminists did organize to protest unequal education and employment opportunities. However, because only the more affluent women participated, feminism never became a mass movement. Instead, the majority of women, who were of the working or peasant classes, organized within the socialist movement: in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries working women's societies began to be formed within social democratic labor organizations.[3]

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1. Bojana Klemencic-Zlodre (architect and urban planner for the Urban Institute of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia), interview with author, September 1982.
2. Vida Tomsic, Women in the Development of Socialist Self-Managing Yugoslavia (Yugoslavia: Jugoslovska Stvarnost, Newspaper and Publishing House, 1980), pp. 17-18.
3. Ibid., p. 18.

Women later united politically as socialists in the partisan movement, which considered women's emancipation a part of the movement's revolutionary struggle against fascism.[4] Women participated in the partisan movement, both in special women's antifascist committees (AFWY) and in the revolutionary war itself. Over 100,000 women were reported to have taken part in the partisan movement as fighters, political commissars, officers, doctors and nurses.[5] Participation in the revolutionary movement represented a new political freedom for women that their culturally defined status had denied, and the aftermath of the revolution also brought about the official emancipation of women in Yugoslavia.

Whereas in Yugoslavia women acted indirectly to change their position through their involvement in the partisan movement and revolution, changes in the role of British women have come about due to the persistent efforts of committed feminists. Also in contrast to Yugoslavia, where a revolutionary war suddenly brought about major changes for women which have been gradually transforming the culture ever since, in England women's rights have been fought for in a long political battle that continues today.

Historically, women have held a subservient position in British law and culture. In the early eighteenth century a married woman had no separate legal identity; under the law, her husband was liable for her civil offenses, had the right to beat her, and could sell her property at will. Children were also legally in the father's custody. "If a dispute ensued," writes Ruth Ross in "Tradition and the Role of Women in Great Britain," "the judge would remind her that by the law of England, the law of Christianity, and the constitution of society, it was her duty to submit to her husband."[6]

During the mid-nineteenth century, the feminist movement gained momentum in England, as women formed special societies to promote women's suffrage and the employment and training of women for commercial positions.[7] This increased political activity came about at the same time the economy was changing, so that new opportunities for women emerged. In the late 1800's women also gained new legal rights such as the right to control their own earnings, the right to own property, and the right to divorce their husbands.[8] Although the wars made it necessary for women to take up occupations previously reserved for men, this change was not accompanied by a change of attitude towards the woman's role and capabilities. After decades of sometimes violent protesting, women gained the right to vote early in the twentieth century. Yet achievement of political equality in the form of suffrage "did not create equality in matters such as owning property, incurring debts, being paid fairly for work, or having access to education. These are some of the goals being sought by women of the present decade."[9]

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4. Vida Tomsic, "Self-Management and the Participation of Women in Development" (Paper presented at the United Nations International Seminar on Popular Participation, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, 17-25 May 1982), p. 2.
5. Ibid., p. 2.
6. Ruth Ross, "Tradition and the Role of Women in Great Britain," in Iglitzin and Ross, eds., Women in the World (Oxford: Clio Press, 1976), pp. 163-64.
7. Ibid., p. 165.
8. Judith Ryder and Harold Silver, Modern English Society (London: Methuen and Co., 1977), pp. 131-32.
9. Ross, "Women in Great Britain," p. 165.

All of these changes occurring in the British woman's position in society have been and continue to be fought for individually. No fundamental statement of attitude change has occurred in Britain acknowledging women's equality: each small change that is made only implies that the woman's position has changed. The same does not hold true in Yugoslavia, where women are declared equal by a newly created national constitution; there, the continuous commitment of the people is now necessary in order to implement this accepted ideal.

Presently in Yugoslavia, the government has taken responsibility for promoting equality for women. Since the socialist revolution, the government has made constitutional and legal changes and has advanced educational and economic reforms benefitting women. In addition, the new regime has instituted a new form of social organization called self-management, which allows both men and women to participate in decision-making within the workplace and community. Of particular importance to women is the local community organ of the self-management structure, which enables many of the concerns previously considered to be women's responsibilities, such as child care and household maintenance, to become of general public concern.[10] However, because women's participation in the local community organs has been small, its potential for helping women has not been fully explored or realized. One possible explanation for this situation is that women as well as men continue to see household and family concerns as being part of the woman's role. Another explanation is that problems such as unemployment, water supply, and housing are of more pressing concern to the new local community organs.[11] These explanations seem most applicable to the situation in Yugoslavia's southern regions, which are less developed and have high overall unemployment. The majority of women in these areas are unemployed and appear to be more content with their traditional roles than women in the north. Regardless of the exact explanation, however, the situation remains that the local community structure holds much greater potential than has yet been realized for relieving working women of household duties.

New educational and employment opportunities for women have also opened up as part of the new Yugoslav government's efforts. Yet despite a general increase in the employment of women, inequality among women still exists regionally. In the nation as a whole, 35.2% of women are employed. While in Slovenia, the most prosperous and industrialized republic, 43.9% of women are employed, in Kosovo, the poorest region, only 20.4% of women hold jobs.[12] A similar discrepancy appears in the education of women in different republics. Though girls still have not taken advantage of educational opportunities to the same extent as boys have,[13] in all republics women have gained greater access to education over the past two decades. Still, in republics such as Slovenia and Serbia, where women have always had greater access to education, women have taken advantage of new opportunities more than women in places such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Macedonia, where women have traditionally been more restricted.[14] Such evidence indicates that the regional differences which have traditionally caused variations in the status of women result in persisting inequalities among Yugoslav women even today.

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10. Tomsic, Women in the Development of Yugoslavia, p. 37.
11. Ibid., pp. 32-33.
12. Tomsic, "Self-Management and the Participation of Women," p. 194.
13. Beverly Springer, "Yugoslav Women," in Iglitzin and Ross, eds., Women in the World (Oxford: Clio Press, 1976), p. 12.
14. Tomsic, Women in the Development of Yugoslavia, p. 13.

The legal and constitutional change which has altered the place of women in Yugoslavia is evolutionary. The new Constitution of 1974 attempts to structure equality into the society by establishing legal equality between husband and wife, establishing the free decision of whether or not to have children as a constitutional right, and introducing the principle of equality between marital partners in property matters.[15] Legal stipulations have also been made to prevent discrimination against women and expectant mothers in the work force, to ensure maternity (or in some cases paternity) leave and benefits, and to benefit women in a number of other ways. The interpretation and application of the constitution, however, as well as the formation of many specific laws, are under the jurisdiction of the respective republics and autonomous provinces.[16] Thus, due to cultural and socio-economic differences between regions, laws pertaining to women still vary. For example, while a law stating that unmarried men and women have the same rights as a married couple exists in Slovenia, the same law was tried but could not be put into practice in Croatia and Macedonia, where attitudes towards the family are still heavily influenced by traditional notions.[17] Furthermore, though the right to a free decision on childbearing has been constitutionally declared, Tomsic notes that "there is not the same commitment on the part of all factors throughout the country to tackle the questions of family planning. There are cases of failure and even refusal to introduce the problems of contraception and sex education into the regular school curricula."[18]

Thus it is apparent that legislating equality does not mean de facto equality. Still, as Tomsic explains the usefulness of constitutionally stated principles of equality in the process of social change: "They are an important instrument in changing relationships and beliefs, but only as part of sustained social action. . . . the implementation of the principles of equality is an everyday activity pursued all the time."[19] According to another Slovenian woman, the existence of new legal norms validates women who have the courage to break with traditional cultural rules; more and more women are now gaining the confidence to break those rules, and many traditional rules are thus losing their force.[20]

In Great Britain, rights and the conception of what is legal are based upon social and cultural norms; since there is no written constitution stating a position on women, the way laws are applied is based on traditional assumptions regarding the woman's role.[21] The resulting process of social change occurring in Britain is almost opposite to that occurring in Yugoslavia: while in Yugoslavia the government's stated political ideals are used to transform cultural reality, in Britain the cultural reality of at least a powerful minority must already change before it is acknowledged in law and practice by the political system. Hence, the process of social change occurring in England involves a great deal of personal initiative and political tension.

Presently, those concerned with changing the position of women in British society find that women generally are paid lower and receive less for equivalent work than their

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15. Ibid., p. 87.
16. Ibid., p. 157.
17. Tanya Rener (sociologist of FSPN in Slovenia), information session with students on the Great Lakes Colleges Association 1982 Comparative European Urban Term, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, 20 September 1982.
18. Tomsic, Women in the Development of Yugoslavia, p. 146.
19. Ibid., pp. 85-86.
20. Bojana Klemencic-Zlodre, interview, 1982.
21. Ross, "Women in Great Britain," p. 172.

laboring male counterparts. While recent laws such as the Equal Pay Act and the Sex Discrimination Act exist, they are of limited effectiveness. Women are still socialized in an education system which generally segregates men and women, and in which women are not encouraged to have the same aspirations as men or to excel in more marketable areas.[22] This bias in education perpetuates the traditional woman's role and keeps the majority of working woman in the poorly paid jobs which traditionally have been considered women's work. Furthermore, the segregation of women in traditional women's fields limits the usefulness of the Equal Pay Act, which can only be applied where a woman is doing the same job as a man for the same employer or where a woman can somehow prove she is doing equivalent work.[23] Similarly, the Sex Discrimination Act can do little to affect the traditional work patterns which keep women in low-paying jobs.[24]

Traditional notions of the woman's role have also perpetuated the situation that women are still expected to care for children and household without any type of social assistance.[25] While women who object to these circumstances tend to be very active in trying to bring about change, the majority of British women do not feel a sense of discrimination or dissatisfaction with their traditional position. Working-class women, who have generally been intimidated and uninvolved with the feminist movement,[26] adhere to the traditional idea of the woman's role particularly strongly.[27]

Many overlapping ideologies and strategies are being employed by activist women in Britain to bring about social change. Radical feminists are trying to transform culturally prescribed sex roles. Maintaining that the "personal is political," they see men's oppressive treatment of women as the major barrier to achieving change in the woman's position. According to British authors Anna Coote and Beatrix Campbell, radical feminists believe that "a change in the political system would not necessarily change the way men behaved 'in pubs, in the home, in the bedroom, in the office or on a darkened street at night.'" They further insist that "'as long as women's sights are fixed on closeness to men, the ideology of male supremacy is safe.'"[28] The radical feminists try to change society at the cultural level by forming a separatist subculture in which assumptions regarding women differ radically from those of mainstream British culture. However, just as British culture itself is very resistant to change, the radical feminist subculture, which emerged in Britain over a decade ago in the progressive urban centers, is also change-resistant. According to several young London feminists, the radical feminist separatist subculture in London is now an exclusive core of "right-on feminists" who are no longer primarily concerned with the position of women in the society at large. Instead, their focus is upon the continuation of their own culture. Furthermore, the radical feminists are made up of women primarily of middle- and

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22. Education and Training, part of a series of information sheets on women's rights (London: National Council for Civil Liberties, 1981), p. 1.
23. Equal Pay Act, part of a series of information sheets on women's rights (London: National Council for Civil Liberties, 1981), pp. 1-2.
24. Equal Opportunities at Work, part of a series of information sheets on women's rights (London: National Council for Civil Liberties, 1981), p. 1.
25. Women, Work and Childcare, part of a series of information sheets on women's rights (London: National Council for Civil Liberties, 1981), p. 1.
26. Allison Weir (journalist and author of Women in History), interview with author, London, England, November 1982.
27. Ross, "Women in Great Britain," p. 170.
28. Anna Coote and Beatrix Campbell, Sweet Freedom (London: Pan Books, 1982), p. 29.

upper-class backgrounds.[29] Yet despite their apparent elitism, to the extent that radical feminists have changed and equalized their own position in the society, they have succeeded in bringing about a measure of equality for British women.

British socialist feminists diverge from the radical feminists in their assessment of women's subordination. In the socialist feminist view, explain Coote and Campbell, women are oppressed by their social and economic relations with men, which are largely a product of capitalism; because capitalism has "changed the shape" of patriarchy, "the fight to end women's subordination is inextricably bound up with the class struggle."[30] While the ideology of British socialist feminists is similar to that of the Yugoslavs, it differs in giving greater consideration and priority to establishing a new position of women in society. A more important difference between British socialist feminists and Yugoslav socialists is that of strategy. Yugoslav socialists, being the dominant power in Yugoslav society, have the power to rewrite the constitution, change laws, and implement programs and long term changes. In contrast, British socialist feminists can do only a fraction of these things and then only when they are able to gain power.

Socialist feminists in Britain have generally allied themselves with the Labour Party. In London, one center of feminist activity and social progressiveness in England, feminists working through the Labour Party currently in power in the Greater London Council (GLC) have succeeded in setting up a Women's Committee. The functions of the GLC Women's Committee are identifying the problems of women in the London area and suggesting corrective measures, ensuring the effective application of new laws, developing and implementing new policies promoting equal opportunities, giving financial aid to autonomous feminist organizations and women's groups, and attempting to make women's issues a higher priority with the GLC.[31] According to Louise Pankhurst of the Women's Committee Support Unit, however, the committee and its programs will probably cease to exist when the Conservatives, who see no need for affirmative action, are once again in power in the GLC.[32] Thus, working through the British political system, socialist feminists can only be effective to the extent they succeed in changing cultural norms about the woman's position while they are in power.

Another way in which London women have organized is through women's centers. Women's centers now exist throughout the London boroughs as places for women to gather, hold meetings and classes, get advice (legal, financial or other), and take advantage of various other services. Women's centers also serve as centers of female culture and as a generally supportive environment for women. According to one woman, the women's center provides a place for women comparable to that which the pub serves for men.[33]

John Stuart Mill said "that laws and political systems begin by converting the physical relations existing between individuals into legal rights" and that "through this cultural process women were placed under the rule of men without deliberation, without interest

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29. Members of Women's City, interviews, 1982.
30. Coote, Sweet Freedom, pp. 32-33.
31. Greater London Council, Policy Coordinating Committee Report, Proposal for a GLC Women's Committee (London: GLC Women's Committee, 1982), p. 3.
32. Louise Pankhurst (member of the GLC Women's Committee Support Unit), interview with author, London, England, November 1982.
33. Sharon Soong (Kentish Town Women's Center volunteer), interview with author, London, England, 24 November 1982.

in the inequities, and without concern for the good of the society."[34] In both England and Yugoslavia, movements forwarding social change have had significant impact on this cultural process: deliberation on what the position of women should be has begun taking place and attempts are being made to correct inequities. Yet because of the varying circumstances of the two societies, the cultural processes by which women have been made unequal and the processes of equalization have taken unique forms. Though the ideas of feminism have affected both Yugoslavia and England, only in England does feminism serve as a significant transformative force in the society. In Yugoslavia, traditional cultural notions about women are being displaced by the egalitarian ideals of the new socialist regime. In both societies, however, as in world society in general, a long and complex process has yet to take place before any ideal of equality is achieved.

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[34] Ross, "Women in Great Britain," p. 172.

HOW WOMEN AND MEN WRITE ABOUT THEMSELVES (LESS DIFFERENTLY THAN YOU MIGHT EXPECT)

Catherine Lamb, Albion College

Critics who examine gender differences in autobiographies usually present evidence for the contrasting places of women and men in our society. Women are said to be selfless, defining themselves through their relationships with other people. Men write success stories, where their accomplishments are paramount. Because women are not out to prove something about themselves, their organization is intuitive and indirect, relying on the cumulative effect of concrete details. Men are more likely to make a direct presentation of main points followed by details to support the image they are trying to convey. In general, women take fewer stylistic chances than men do.[1] At the very least, the findings of the study I want to report on suggest that these differences are overstated; some are even misleading.

I have been discussing criticism of autobiographies as a rhetorician: that is, I am interested in a writer's purpose, how the audience is viewed, and how organization, development, and style are used to achieve one's purpose. To study these elements as reflected in contemporary autobiographies, I limited myself to formal autobiographies, pieces of writing conceived as a unit and written only by the author: not diaries, journals, or collections of letters, or books "as told to" someone else. Because I also wanted to do a complementary study of the "self" portrayed in these autobiographies, I included only those covering as much of a person's life as possible and excluded those written about one momentous event such as riding a camel across Australia or participating in the 1968 Chicago riots. To limit myself to one time period, I used only autobiographies published since 1960 in the United States.

I chose the works by assembling a bibliography of autobiographies written by people in vocational groups where women had some representation. From those I chose four groups. In two of the groups, poets and social reformers, the number of men and women writing autobiographies since 1960 is about the same; in the third, clergy and religious, there are many more men than women; and in the fourth, teachers, there are more women than men.[2] Within each of these categories, I selected at random five women and five men.

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[1] This summary, as well as the more detailed discussions at the beginning of each section of the paper, are a composite of a number of sources, the most important of which is Estelle C. Jelinek, ed., Women's Autobiography (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), especially Jelinek's "Introduction: Women's Autobiography and the Male Tradition," pp. 1-20; Suzanne Juhasz's "Toward a Theory of Form in Feminist Autobiography"; Kate Millett's Flying and Sita; Maxine Hong Kingston's The Woman Warrior," pp. 221-37; and Patricia Meyer Spacks' "Selves in Hiding," pp. 112-32.

I also drew upon Thomas G. Farrell, "The Female and Male Modes of Rhetoric," College English, 40 (1979), 909-21; and Mary Mason, "Autobiographies of Women Writers," in Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical, ed. James Olney (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 207-35.

Finally, I wanted to see what correlations there might be on the sentence level with the rhetorical patterns I found in the books taken as wholes, in a manner similar to what Mary Hiatt did with both fiction and non-fiction in The Way Women Write (New York: Teachers College Press, 1977). Each writer is represented by four 500-word passages, which I chose by dividing the book into four parts and then selecting at random from within those four sections, for a total of over 80,000 words. To analyze these passages, I used programs written in SNOBOL4, a pattern-matching language. (The computer portion of my study could not have been completed without the generous assistance of John Williams, Director of Academic Computing at Albion.) My main purpose in this paper is to present a preliminary analysis of this part of my work.

Purpose

First, purpose as reflected in the portrayal of self. We hear continually that women create themselves through their relationships with others. I have just finished reading Carol Gilligan's In a Different Voice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), where she argues that this characteristic affects women's moral development in a profound way. Mary Mason has shown how, historically, women in their autobiographies have defined themselves through identification with some "other"—a husband, children, friends, God, a cause, or even a state, as with Golda Meir and Israel. On the other hand, men, beginning with St. Augustine, write success stories. What defines a man is what he has done.

I would be the first to say that I cannot imagine a computer program whose results taken on their own could persuade me to reject generalizations such as the above, which ought to be arrived at through analysis of the text as a whole. However, it seems reasonable to argue that patterns of first and third person pronoun use, excluding those in direct speech, would indicate the relative emphases an autobiographer places on self and others. I assumed that men would use a greater percentage of first person pronouns than women, since it is they and what they have done that is central, and that women would use more third person pronouns than men, perhaps even more than their own use of the first person.

None of these hypotheses was supported. Both men and women use more first person pronouns than third. Their mean percentages of first person use are both 4.8. Women use 2.9% third person pronouns, and men, 3%, a difference that can be accounted for by chance ($x^2 = .75$, which is not significant since $x^2 = 3.841$ at one degree of freedom and .05 level of probability).[3]

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[2] The two primary sources for my bibliography were Patricia K. Addis, Through a Woman's I: An Annotated Bibliography of American Women's Autobiographical Writing, 1946-76 (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1983), and Mary Louise Briscoe et al., eds., American Autobiography, 1945-1980: A Bibliography (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982).

The idea for using autobiographies by men and women from four complementary vocations came from Daniel Levinson's Seasons of a Man's Life (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978). I began with the following numbers of books in each category: clergy and religious—sixty men and ten women; poets—twenty-three men and nineteen women; social reformers—seventeen men and twenty-five women; teachers—seventeen men and sixty-one women. For the final list of forty books, write to me at Albion.

My initial response to these results was a confusion that I have not yet been able to explain away, not having read even a majority of the books: either autobiographers of both sexes emphasize the self and its relationship to others to the same degree, or pronoun use is not a reliable way to check for variations. As an additional way to analyze what writers were stressing, I did a content analysis of the passages and found that women refer a third more often than men do to activities and places—scenes, homes, and rooms in homes.[4] In other words, women use what is around them as well as who to define themselves more so than men do. People—especially the writer—are still center stage, but they share the spotlight with the props and backdrops. The effect is less selflessness than a self that draws on more for its realization. For example, two of the male clergy say almost nothing about where an important event or insight occurred, or the context in which the writer met a significant person. In contrast, for the women religious, the physical realities of life in or out of the convent are central to conveying the texture of their lives.[5]

Audience

None of my programs tested directly for a writer's conception of audience. One infers this by looking at the entire range of choices a writer has made. I include a discussion of audience here because it is audience together with purpose that provides a meaningful context for discussing organization, development, and style.

The indirect, understated way in which women are said to write about themselves implies an audience who is sympathetic, willing to do the work necessary to make the connections which the writer has, at best, implied. A writer using such an approach may be effective, but more than likely only for a limited group of people. In contrast, the male autobiographer writing his success story sees his audience as people who need to be persuaded to his point of view. He thus leaves less to chance or the reader's good will than a women does. All but one of the twelve autobiographies I have read so far—ten clergy and women religious and two men poets—do not exhibit these contrasting views of audience. The clergy and women religious in particular assume their audience shares similar interests and values.

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3. Here and later in the paper, I am simply reporting the results of the statistical analyses performed on the data without explaining the tests. In this program studying pronoun occurrence, I excluded the three autobiographies, two by men and one by a woman, which are written completely or partially in the third person.

4. I arrived at this conclusion by examining the primary focus of each passage in my sample. If a passage had several foci, equally important, all were counted.

5. This explanation is consistent with a study where students were asked to write about important events in their past. The men more than the women were vague about when something happened and did not emphasize time as an event in itself. See Diana W. Warshay, "Sex Differences in Language Style" in Toward a Sociology of Women, ed. Constantina Safilios-Rothschild (Lexington, Mass: Xerox College Publishing, 1972), pp. 3-9.

Organization and Development

As we teachers of Freshman English keep saying, writers should order their material according to their purposes and sense of audience. Women autobiographers, defining themselves primarily through their relationships, writing for a sympathetic audience, are said to organize what they say in a similarly indirect way; they rely on the cumulative effect of concrete, often ordinary, detail to make their points. By implication, women make less use of hierarchy in their writing. Male autobiographers are said to utilize the techniques of traditional (i.e., Aristotelian) argument to make sure their audience sees them in the manner they wish. They state their main points clearly and support them with relevant evidence.

In the next section on style I will discuss sentence-level devices which indicate structure; here, I want to summarize what I have seen in my reading thus far. For the great majority of the clergy/religious, male and female, it is their vocations that shape their autobiographies, just as it was for St. Augustine, St. Theresa of Avila, Cardinal Newman, and George Fox, the founder of the Quakers. William Sloane Coffin, in Once to Every Man (New York: Atheneum, 1979), sees his life as marked by a series of major decisions which he, as a clergyman with a social conscience, must face. For Mary Griffin, a nun who left her order in the early 70's, in The Courage to Choose (Boston: Little, Brown, 1975), the focus is also on choice, but in a more fundamental way. She devotes her book to exploring why she and others like her relinquished their freedom to choose by becoming nuns, and why she then came to believe that her integrity as a person required her to ask for release from her vows. If these autobiographies are typical, the feature that most characterizes my writers' organizational strategy—the thematic unity of a clear sense of vocation—is a variable that does not seem to be determined by gender.

Style

In a sense, this entire paper is about style, or the choices one makes as a writer. I am using the term here to include sentence-level characteristics identified by SNOBOL programs. Women who are apologetic about themselves, who organize what they have to say in an indirect way, might also be expected to write about themselves in an understated manner, relying on concreteness for effect. Men, more sure of themselves, more direct in their organization, should be similarly assertive in the way they express themselves. I have shown how the differences between female and male presentation of self are less than would be expected. Again, here, the similarities and differences present us with a mixed picture.

The average sentence length of these writers and the way they used certain logical sequence indicators reflect the relatively informal, descriptive nature of this writing. Men's and women's mean sentence lengths are not significantly different: 18.1 words per sentence for the men and 17.9 for the women ($t = -1.686$, significant at .4970), both shorter than the twenty words per sentence typical of most magazine writing. In writing that, on the whole, is informal and appears not to be intended to be persuasive, we would not expect logical indicators typical of arguments to be very noticeable, and they are not. Six of the men and six of the women do not use illatives, words indicating they are stating a conclusion, such as "therefore," "thus," and "in short." Of the writers who do use them, for both men and women, they constitute about .1% of the total text outside of quotation marks. Women and men make even less use of illustratives (words signalling examples, such as "for example," "that is," and "for instance"): thirteen men and seven women do not use them at all.[6]

I had expected that the use of another type of logical sequence indicator, adversatives (words such as "but," "however," "nevertheless," "yet," and "in fact," which show contrast or reversal of some kind), along with certain types of punctuation, would parallel the somewhat more assertive nature of the men's writing. In a sense, I thought, they have more room stylistically. Although men do use more adversatives than women, the difference is not statistically significant ($x^2 = 2.83$; $x^2 = 3.841$ at a probability of .05). The results are the same for dashes which signal commentary or afterthought and for rhetorical question marks—both marks of punctuation which might be said to energize prose. The men do not use significantly more (for dashes, $x^2 = 1.31$; for question marks, $x^2 = 2.42$). Women use more exclamation points than men, but there are so few—twenty-three in over forty thousand words—that their effect is negligible.

Not much that is conclusive can be said about men's assertiveness on the sentence level; stronger arguments may be made, however, for the ways in which concreteness is a characteristic of women's writing.

From a statistical viewpoint, the strongest connection is with the use of a logical indicator, the causative, a category of words that signals a reason is being given, such as "because," "for," "since," and "as." Women use fifty percent more than men do, a highly significant difference ($x^2 = 9.45$; .01 P .001). This result is consistent with men's and women's use of illustratives, mentioned earlier: twice as many women as men use them. Providing more reasons for a conclusion may be seen as indicating a degree of defensiveness, a stereotypically female posture—although the rhetorician and feminist in me would like to counter that more relevant evidence also means a better-supported conclusion. The contexts in which the causatives occur show that the women are more likely to be explaining rather than defending, as part of their strategy to enable the reader to experience what is happening.

Women also use significantly more adverbs than men ($x^2 = 6.16$; .025 P .01). Because I was limited to what the computer could identify unambiguously, I examined only those ending in "-ly." (For the same reasons of simplicity and practicality, I did not study

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6. Comparing my results in this section with Hiatt's in her study is difficult because there are some important differences in methodology. She worked with a variety of non-fiction, not only autobiographies. She also implies that she made no distinction between material inside and outside quotation marks. Except for programs determining average sentence length and percentage of direct speech, material inside quotation marks was omitted from analysis. I was interested in how these writers structured their own writing, not in their perceptions of someone else's speech. Finally, the significance of Hiatt's results is difficult to determine because she presents only raw numbers or percentages with no analysis of statistical significance.

Our findings are consistent in only a few areas: women use more causatives than men (cf. Hiatt, pp. 55-57), and women use more adverbs than men—although Hiatt found the latter to be true in fiction, but not in non-fiction. The patterns for adverb modification are the same (cf. Hiatt, pp. 90-91).

adjective use. Doing so would have required each adjective to be coded manually, first.) Although women use adverbs more frequently than men do, the patterns of modification are quite similar for both. More than half the time in both groups, adverbs modify verbs, then adjectives, and less than ten percent of the time, entire constructions of clauses or sentences.

For most readers, a writer's use of direct speech is a much more obvious way to "show" than is the presence of causatives or adverbs. It is also a technique similar in its effect to the indirect approach to organization which I had expected would characterize the women writers. The patterns of women's and men's use of it, while not possessing the degree of statistical significance of the two earlier measures, still tell us something about the differences between the ways men and women present the material of their lives. The mean percentage for the men is 9.9 and for the women, 14.8, a difference which is probably not significant ($t = -1.555$, significant at .1289).

These means, however, neutralize the patterns of occurrence of direct speech. Forty percent of the men either use no direct speech or use a smaller percentage than the woman using the least, who is Angela Davis. Her book, Angela Davis/An Autobiography (New York: Random House, 1974), is a clear contrast to the un-argumentative tone of the clergy and women religious I mentioned earlier. She takes no chances in having us miss her point, that she is writing a political autobiography designed to show how her life has been a struggle for the liberation of blacks. The open-endedness of direct speech would work counter to her purposes. Apart from a few exceptions such as Davis, women's use of direct speech is consistent with my earlier discussion of their more fully realized presentation of self. Not only do they want to give us a sense of themselves through setting as well as other people, but they want to show these people and themselves in action.

Just as there is little evidence that men's use of rhetorical question marks and dashes to signal commentary contributes to whatever assertiveness there might be in their writing, neither does the use of punctuation to signal hierarchy provide additional indirect evidence that women are being more concrete. There is no significant difference between the ways men and women use colons, parentheses, and dashes that function parenthetically (for colons, $x^2 = .07$; for parentheses, $x^2 = 2.44$; for dashes used parenthetically, $x^2 = .08$).

As I summarize all of my findings concerning purpose, audience, organization and development, and style, I am aware above all of the lack of clarity that emerges. I am unwilling to make generalizations about the portrayal of self and organization and development because I have read only one-quarter of the books. But in the other areas, if earlier descriptions of male and female autobiographies have tended to put them at opposite ends of the continua of directness and indirectness, telling and showing, emphasis and understatement, the results of my study suggest at least that the divisions may not be so clear. The differences there are—in the use of illustratives and causatives, adverbs, and direct speech—suggest that, on the sentence level, men are not more assertive than women, but women do appear to make greater use of the concrete. And the nature of the differences does not warrant a claim that one group in some sense writes better than the other.

Further, if my original assumption is correct—that differences in the way the two sexes write are reflected most clearly in autobiography as a form of expressive writing—and the differences here are less than one would expect, then it seems reasonable to assume that differences are likely to be even less noticeable in the writing we do most frequently. In reference discourse—term papers, journal articles, business and technical writing—self-expression is not a goal; the way one writes is much more explicitly and narrowly prescribed.

As another way to summarize my findings, I want to close with a bit of wisdom—intuitive, of course—from an essay I wrote when I was in seventh grade, back in 1958. It's called "An Autobiography of a Piece of Chalk." The chalk's life pattern is classically female: When it is young, it is the largest, widest, most beautiful chalk of all. It is even made president of all the pieces of chalk in the box. People who open the box are attracted to its rich, dark green and want to use it, which the chalk accepts passively, even though being pressed against a blackboard is very painful. When it is covered with dirt and worn down to half an inch, it considers trying to escape, but decides the only realistic way to protect itself is to work its way down to the bottom of the box where it will not be noticed. The chalk, one finds out in the last paragraph, is male.

FINDING ONE'S WAY THROUGH THE LABYRINTH: A SYMPOSIUM ON WOMEN'S LIVES

INTRODUCTION

Penny Jameson, Saint Mary's College

In this symposium we will present a single work, but we want to focus on two aspects of that work: method and content. The study attempts to describe the sources of meaning, support, and conflict in the lives of a group of 88 alumnae of Saint Mary's College, women ranging in age from 23 to 73, who volunteered to complete a 49-page questionnaire. The questions ranged from rather open invitations to write a reflective essay (e.g., "How would you like your daughter to be different from you?") to standardized multiple choice inventories of orientation, sex-typing, locus of control and the like. We can only present some of what we learned. Of particular interest to us, both as educators of women and as researchers, is the methodology. This is an attempt to work in a different mode, one that is interdisciplinary and feminist. It is interdisciplinary because it was undertaken by six women with different disciplinary training, different cultural and generational experiences. It is feminist in our attempt to break down the hierarchical distinction between observer and observed, and in its rejection of the assumption that knowledge can be gained in a strictly dyadic relationship between self and environment. This study looks instead at the structuring of the world of meaning created in a social context—both on the level of the researchers and on the level of the participant (each of whom is also participant and researcher respectively).

The symposium will proceed in three sections. The first describes the method and its evolution. The second, and most difficult, works with the idea of the self-story, both as we saw it in the responses of the women and in our responses to them. Illustrations from literature clarify the function of this underlying, often unconscious story. The structure of this story is defined by our values, images, ideals, and assumptions, many of which have been passed to us from our family of origin. This structure serves as the filtering device for incoming information, the organizer, director, and evaluator of our energies. It defines our relationship with the world in which we live. It is not, however, a static structure, and the following sections, as yet in progress, describe some common patterns leading to change in the narrative structure. The final section, a portion of which will be presented, illustrates the sort of thing we are doing with the content. Essentially a descriptive piece, it uses metaphor rather than statistics as the descriptive structure. The setting of the family meal, described both in the responses of our women and in literature, is used to provoke a sense of the complexity of the issues in these women's, and our own, lives.

METHODOLOGY

Penny Jameson, Saint Mary's College

Objectivity, a goal of research methodology in the social sciences, is elusive; it is achieved only partially, at best, and then only when the researcher or observer can exert careful control—either through manipulation or definition, or both—to break down the peculiarly subjective bonds of the relationship of the observer to the observed. This relationship is not removed: rather, the nature of the relationship is made public so that other observers can replace the original observer, repeat the observation, and arrive at the same conclusions. Thus the researcher arrives at "facts"—facts that can be obtained or replicated by other researchers using the same methodology or definition, facts that exist independent of a particular observation. The facts remain inextricably related to the definition, but at least that link is public, and thus we call it "objective." The methodology becomes the highly defined, simplified social context. We can question the assumptions, the values implicit in the definition and methodology, but the facts remain. This imposition of a pre-defined point of view has its costs, however, and those costs haunted the beginning stages of our study.

The study began in a very traditional way with the usual variety of concerns for design and control. The only obvious lapse was the breadth of the study, the generality of the hypotheses. I had long been impatient with studies that examined relationships between two or three carefully defined variables; I felt that the disembedding of these variables from their contexts ultimately oversimplified issues and produced relatively uninteresting results. I was—and am—more interested in systems of thought and patterns of behavior than in discrete bits of information. Thus the questionnaire, forty-nine pages that are for the most part open-ended questions, was designed to uncover a broad view of the woman's life.

As soon as I had the responses of the women in hand, however, I began losing any control I might have thought I had. Despite my original intent to categorize responses, analyze for patterns, and check reliability of coding, something kept defying that sort of objectification. Little by little over the two years that I worked on the coding, I began to feel that my control was a kind of violence. A strong image began to haunt me. I felt as if I were lining up these eighty-eight women in a straight line, taking microtome slices horizontally along the line at a given distance from the ground, collecting these slices, and seeing where the light passed through them. While this is certainly one way to say something about the general structure common to the organisms, it ultimately destroys the particularity of each. And while that is forgivable in dealing with biological structures, it bothered me to be doing this with these women's perceptions of their lives. Perceptions are not observable facts, nor are they direct reflections of reality. Rather they are responses to experience, interpretations and organizations of experience that are highly selective, influenced by experience, motivation, and context—as well as by the limitations imposed by the biological system and personal history.

These factors all probably have common structures at some level, but what was most interesting was the particular interactions that produced particular patterns of response. Imposing my categories, or patterns derived from psychological literature and theory, felt like a kind of violence that was destroying the internal structure of each of the women's stories. For example, one characteristic that struck me on the first reading was the rigidity or fluidity of the women's responses to change. All of the women in the study have confronted rather major changes in the attitudes and values of the society around them, and they have responded in very different ways. This factor of rigidity or fluidity combined with many others to produce the final story of each woman, and was a factor of varying importance in the kinds of relationships she had. There was no category system, no statistical analysis that was flexible or complex enough to trace the effect of this factor through the woman's responses. I began to realize that if I were to be able to capture what was in the responses—what was so compelling—I had to relax my control, but I wanted to do so keeping in mind the purposes of a systematic methodology. Then, by chance, several events occurred and the methodology fell in place.

Last spring a friend gave me a book on the spiritual traditions of the Plains Indian People, Seven Arrows. The author, Hymeyohsts Storm, begins the book with an explanation of the Medicine Wheel (pp. 1-2):

> "the very Way of the Life of the People . . . is an understanding of the Universe. . . . The Medicine Wheel Way begins with the Touching of our Brothers and Sisters. . . . In many ways this circle, the Medicine Wheel, can best be understood if you think of it as a mirror in which everything is reflected. "The Universe is the Mirror of the People," the old teachers tell us, "and each person is a mirror to every other person."
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> Any idea, person, or object can be a Medicine Wheel, a Mirror for man. The tiniest flower can be such a mirror, as can a Wolf, a story, a touch, a religion, or a mountain top. For example, one person alone on a mountain top at night might feel fear. Another might feel calm and peaceful. Still another might feel lonely, and a fourth might feel nothing at all. In each case the mountain top would be the same, but it would be perceived differently as it reflected the feelings of the different people who experienced it.

This, in turn, brought to mind the familiar story from the Sufi Dervish tradition of the six blind men arguing about the true shape and likeness of an elephant. Each has unknowingly apprehended only the part within reach. The moral of that story is that knowledge is not the privilege of the individual; instead, knowledge of the "out there" is best achieved when we acknowledge that our position affects our perception. By combining perception from each position with that from others, we can better arrive at an understanding of what exists independent of our position.

With these two stories in mind, I sought help from two eager young research assistants and three of my colleagues—women from English and Humanistic Studies with whom I have explored a number of women's issues, taught, done committee work, and played soccer. I hoped that together we could expand rather than restrict the process of looking, that we (I) could admit to ignorance about what we were looking at, what we were expecting. Six of us could come to the women's stories with the individual preconceptions, values, and positions which distort what each of us saw on those sheets of paper, no matter how open-minded we determined to be. But we could talk about what we saw and try to figure out why we saw things differently when we did. Six carefully developed perceptions could possibly give us a clearer picture of the beast (beauty) than could one artificially constructed "objective" observer. Since each respondent's stories were contained in her written responses to forty-nine pages of questions, she, like the mountain, did not change. Through touching their stories, touching each other, we could possibly define our positions relative to these women, and having done that, construct a three-dimensional picture of what we were experiencing.

Thus the study changed from being that of one woman doing a semi-controlled, piecemeal summary of the responses of eighty-eight women to being a study of eighty-eight women and the six women studying them. Thus we were able to relax control, except over our vigilance of our perspectives, and to let the women speak in their own voices, organize their lives as they saw them. We could respond fully to what each of them said, each of us from her unique point of view. What happened as we proceeded as a group was fascinating. The first weeks were exhausting, anxiety-provoking, draining emotionally as well as intellectually. Each week we read the protocols of ten women, meeting in marathon sessions on Friday to share our perspectives on these women and the emerging organizing images of each woman's life. Part of what was so anxiety-provoking was the light shed on our individual lives by the clarification of perspective—the flaws, the imperfections, the contradictions, the prejudices. The women's stories did indeed act as mirrors to our own lives, and we found that often it was painful to look. But there was the unspoken support of the group, and the pain gave way to a recognition of the other side, the joys and the strengths. Interestingly, we found ourselves increasingly unwilling to judge or to summarize the lives of the women we were studying. The eighty-eight women came to control the study. Our interests changed from an identification of patterns to an intrigue with the various ways these women managed to navigate the paradoxes of their lives, and with the particular characteristics of the story that underlay the responses of each individual.

The methodology we employed may not be one that leads to "objectivity" in the traditional sense, but we felt it was no less honest in drawing out and making public the particular assumptions and values that were determining the focus, organization, and identification of rules of selection and relation. Instead of consciously removing the observer, we have consciously included the observer and the relationship to the observed as part of the study. This is not to claim that we saw the "truth," whatever that is, but rather to say that we looked in a different way.

I have not given up on doing the standard sorts of statistical analyses; those too are available. They give us valuable insights into relationships between some of the variables. But they leave out all of the richness and the particular tension, conflicts, disjunctures of the individual's life. Many times when working with the statistical materials I have wondered if I imagined the richness of the original materials. The statistical summaries are sometimes boring, flat descriptions. And when this happens, I inevitably return to the original protocols, head full of doubts. But there is something there, something much richer that I hope we will be able to capture.

There are some rather obvious limits to the study that need to be defined from the outset—in addition to the particular limits of the methodology. The respondents are all alumnae of Saint Mary's College, all volunteers. The questionnaire took approximately ten hours to complete; some commented that it took far more. Thus this is a group of women that had both the time and the inclination to undertake such a disclosure. Some of the respondents had a public audience in mind; others took the task as an opportunity to do some soul searching. We tried to be clear about who was doing which, although that stylistic difference may also be one that occurs in the way they live their lives, a difference between the extrovert who attends primarily to external events and the introvert who attends to the internal response.

We are not yet sure what form the final production of this work will take; it is still very much "in progress." But we invite you to plunge briefly with us into some of the sections that are beginning to take shape: the individual narrative, and the family meal—paradigm for seeing the complexity in the simplest of affairs.

LIFE STORIES

Linnea Brandwein Vacca, Saint Mary's College

Like Penny Jameson, Ann Loux (whose paper follows) and I have seen that a statistical slicing of our eighty-eight respondents gives us a sense of them that can be misleading. They are surely best known to us who have read their responses not as a compilation of data but as a collection of clearly individuated women each with her own story to tell. Not that that story is unequivocal, a clear and obvious conclusion from the evidence of a long questionnaire and the numerous psychological tests and personality inventories built into it. Quite the contrary. From the first, our encounters with these eighty-eight women were characterized by a lively and enforced sense of how fallible was our knowledge of them.

As we talked about the women into whose lives we had been admitted through their responses, we often faced alternative readings. Clearly we could not all be right. In fact, it was inevitable that we were all more or less wrong (a humbling realization which is not, I think, so evident to those who count on the revealed truth of well-done statistical studies). Each of us, feeling she had really gotten to know the woman, could not quite understand why the others, reading the same evidence, had a different impression, sometimes just slightly but often radically so.

But if we were all, inescapably, somewhat wrong, we were also surprisingly close to accord some of the time. More significantly, our apparently contradictory readings were in fact pretty honest reflections of a contradictory presentation of self. When we started to put together our individual and imperfect reflections of the woman, we were beginning to do more justice to her than any one of us had done on her own. We had, in other words, replicated the experience of discussing a literary character. We might similarly have talked about Madame Bovary.

In fact, we would have had clearer navigating had we been discussing Flaubert's Emma Bovary. Art is infinitely more tidy than life in pruning contradiction. And in the case of our texts, those eighty-eight questionnaires, author and main character were one and the same—with all the complications of imperfect self-knowledge one would expect. At least some of our diverging senses of the woman came from contradictions within her own presentation of herself. The questionnaire, besides asking any number of open-ended questions, also contains many tests and inventories which yield absolute, quantifiable scores on such scales as locus of control, for instance, and factual quantifiable data in such areas as how the day is spent and what the woman's friendship/support network looks like. It is, in sum, an extremely far-ranging document. And what perplexities its complexities could engender. Just like real life! A woman whose personality ranked stunningly passive on one inventory might a few pages later ascribe to herself characteristic behaviors which are stunningly assertive.

No great literary analytic talent was needed to see that contradictory information, as well as our personal perspectives as readers and responders to people, lay behind many of our contradictory opinions about a given woman. One of us might point to an impoverished friendship/support network to substantiate our interpretation that the woman was a loner; another would counter with the specifics of the woman's day plan in which she logged details of one social encounter after another, all of them ranked as highly pleasurable and important to her. In the end, the best way to do justice to these women seemed to be through the kind of discussion and analysis that finally led to some sort of negotiated, plausible interpretation, if not to "truth." We knew we weren't going to get that!

Each of the women in our sampling has in some sense told us her story. She has, for one thing, responded to questions that ask her very specifically to tell the story she used to tell herself: What did you imagine your life would be like when you graduated from college? How were your expectations realized or not realized? In other, less direct, ways, she also told her story as she explained herself and her day and her concerns and beliefs and victories. We came to look at the women in our study as the creators of their own individual stories (if not of their own individual lives—that's yet another story), stories they told themselves about themselves which seem to give their lives some sort of meaning.

Not, we should qualify, that the women in our study would all of them so conceive of their own life. Only a few could be said to think of themselves as "captains of their fate, monarchs of their soul." Many of them wrote scenarios in which they cast themselves unequivocally as victims—victims of vast social changes or of the personal malice of an important person in their lives. The point is that, at least in terms of our knowledge of them, they so cast themselves. Regardless of the validity of the notion that we author our own destiny, we can nevertheless discern the story that people tell themselves about what occurs. Each story—grim, beautiful, obviously delusory, cynical—is absolutely truthful in its own terms. Perhaps it tells us as much as we can hope to know about another.

One of the most important messages any self-story bears, especially in relation to the general contours of our study, is precisely the self-referential one—that is, the degree to which the respondent does see herself as in control of, "author" of, her life. And here we are close to the center of what I find the great teaching implication of this study—one means by which we may judge whether a woman's education and experience somehow empowered her to see herself as her own person. I take it that the communicating of such a sense of being empowered is a broadly-shared pedagogic aim, something we want our students really to perceive in themselves.

Looking at the women in their forties in our study, the inescapable conclusion for me is that a Saint Mary's education some twenty or twenty-five years ago did not empower through teaching the craft of generating one's own story. For that matter, why should it have? Social roles told the stories then, far more than they can do nowadays. And they probably told those stories especially unequivocally for our particular population—young women raised in the traditional, strongly religious homes of newly-arrived middle- and upper-class families. Few of the women older than forty had thought of anything but marriage and a family after graduation—and all of them, I'll wager, had a firm (because almost entirely explicit) grasp of exactly what was entailed in the marriage-and-family "plan." And why be too hard on the women, or the "plan"? Such culturally established and role-defined life patterns sustain millions. But I hardly need to tell you the assaults such patterns suffer when traditional orders fall apart. Chinua Achebe's Things Fall Apart describes the phenomenon as well as any sociological study. Those very factors that had sustained Okonkwo, had made him in fact an eminently successful Ibo warrior, became counterproductive when, with the advent of the white man, the old stories no longer worked to integrate the individual with the culture.

And so, too, for many of the older women in our study, women who had committed themselves to a culturally defined, rather specific life pattern. Not too many years ago, they would probably have been able to live out the given pattern in a life that, while it might not have been blissful, would at least have confirmed the rectitude of their choice. For many, culture change intervened. Women who had subscribed wholeheartedly to a life program found it rendered ineffective by subsequent events—sometimes personal, more often cultural and outside their control. Some of these women are embittered and have little sense of themselves as active agents in their own life. Typically they committed themselves to raising a large family as a main element in a praiseworthy life. Now, the very elements in which they have invested commitment and from which they sought validation seem to have turned against them.

Not that all, or even most, of the middle-aged respondents in our study are soured on the world. But the forties clearly seem a problematic decade for many. A decent proportion of these women were able to connect their personal unhappiness with the larger realities of social life, to see their projected stories as having been shattered by largely anonymous historic and social forces. But that ability to talk analytically about one's private situation brought no automatic ease. That is, insight into social realities offered no guarantee of being able to accept the consequences. We would be imagining too easy a solution to hope that it might be enough to educate for flexibility, for anticipation of change. Traditional or non-traditional, we all need some way to cope with the failure of our life plan, whatever its specifics might have been. It's the editing, backtracking, reassessing, the rewriting we can do at crucial junctures, that will ultimately serve us best. I'm not sure how we should teach such skills, but I am sure we must. The perils to self for those of us who cannot exercise them are just too great to ignore.

The guarantee of anonymity which we gave to our respondents makes it impossible to tell you any of their individual stories. But we can share with you our reconstructions of a few more common patterns the women's stories showed. A woman's sense of satisfaction, her maintenance of a lively affect, seems more related to her habitual ways of thinking about events and relationships than to any particular style of life or configuration of events; her experience of the quality of her life seems more related to subjective factors than to objective facts. The women we admired were those who communicated meaningful lives to us, who showed a spirited affect, who more consciously assumed responsibility for their lives, and who attempted consciously to decide when to hold on and when to let go. They were women, that is, who seemed able to make decisions and then accept the costs of the decisions. Neither stuck in the past nor yearning for better things to come, they were poised in the present and capable of flexibly integrating their experiences and their hopes.

We also found other, more beleaguered, patterns of response, ones which typically moved to one extreme or the other in this balancing of holding on and letting go. One such paradigmatic style is that of the fortress mentality, a self-story rigidly maintained by fear and suspicion, reinforced by defensiveness and projection, all in the service of sustaining a tradition, belief, or system of thought, no matter what. The costs, however, can be enormous, especially in terms of a friendly relationship with one's world. Communication with others requires acknowledging and allowing for those who do not necessarily share one's tradition or values. When a woman is consumed by the defense of her structure, she is apt to end up isolated or perhaps holed up with a few others who share her essential assumptions. The fortress the woman feels obliged to defend may be religious, political, nutritional, a matter of sexual preference—the specifics vary although they tend in general to be conservative, traditional. The result in any case is isolation.

The fortress women underline the difficulty of maintaining an unpopular belief without isolating the self. Some fortresses—we could call them ideals—may be worth defending at all costs. Holding a humanly sound position in Nazi Germany probably involved the individual in similar circumstances to those faced by the fortress women in our study. The case of the fortress mentality forms a fascinating backdrop to the problem of agreeableness, fitting in, versus living by principle—a particularly acute problem for women given their traditional socialization and their accentuated valuing of relationships.

A second characteristic pattern we called needlepointing, a lifestyle in which the women tended to relinquish control over the pattern of their lives, attending indiscriminately to immediate detail. Consequently their perceptions often failed to reveal to them much sense of boundary between self and other; these women were diffused into and onto the contexts and lives of those around them. Their "problem," as we saw it, was too much letting go, ultimately, of individual responsibility. Paradoxically, these women's stories also showed great generosity of spirit and had a remarkably good-natured quality about them. The needlepointing pattern and its extreme opposite, the fortress pattern, seem two variants on a recurrent theme of self-sacrifice, a theme our respondents' demographic and, especially, religious backgrounds reinforced greatly. At both extremes we found the women's situation generating a predictable mix of righteousness and insecurity. The fortress women seem cut off from those around them, the needlepointers from themselves.

As a researcher, I am fascinated by the theory and infinite variations of self-story, particularly with regard to how the individual copes with contradiction in her world. But as a teacher, I have more immediate, practical concerns. How can I help students to address the role that self-story plays in their own lives? As a beginning, I try to acquaint them with the idea of self-empowering and to introduce them to stories revealing the sorts of patterns mentioned here. At appropriate junctures in our study of literature I refer to some of the patterns our research has revealed. My students respond to such material with an earnestness that betokens a shock of recognition—they can see their own mothers, I suspect, in such patterns and metaphors. None of us, even with the resources of our research, could ever tell other people what stories to tell or not to tell. But perhaps we should begin to talk about storytelling.

MEALS—CHAOS OR COMMUNITY

Ann Kimble Loux, Saint Mary's College

> Stupidity in the kitchen; woman as cook: the gruesome thoughtlessness to which the feeding of the family and of the master of the house is abandoned! WOMAN DOES NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT FOOD MEANS—and wants to be cook. If woman were a thinking creature, she, as cook for millennia, would surely have had to discover the greatest physiological facts, and she would have had to gain possession of the art of healing. Bad cooks—and the utter lack of reason in the kitchen—have delayed human development longest and impaired it most: nor have things improved much even today. A lecture for finishing-school girls.[1]

> Nothing says lovin' like something from the oven—Pillsbury says it best.

Both of these beginning quotations make me uneasy. So does this topic. (I think that's because it's a bona fide tender spot for women in general; it is for me.) Nietzsche and Pillsbury's advertising agency may be perceptive in articulating the importance of food and meals in human life. But perhaps they are even more perceptive in articulating just the sort of guilt-producing message that consciously or unconsciously manipulates many women. Many of us, I suspect, see ourselves as responsible for meals which are nutritional both for the body and the soul, meals which carry on the traditional values of family, conversation, friendship, and hospitality. Many of those responding to the questionnaire expressed their desire for a servant; they seem to suspect that the leisurely meals of our imagination rest upon the shoulders of someone other than the lady at the foot of the table. Those who cannot find the energy or opportunity to produce peaceful, sumptuous meals where camaraderie and good conversation flourish feel as if they fail not only in a duty, but also in an avenue of artistic expression. Some women feel that they are missing an opportunity to shape the memories of their children and instill the traditional values of family and community.

We chose to focus on meals as a way of looking simultaneously at the stories we tell ourselves and try to live out and at the data we had so much difficulty infusing with life. A statistical analysis takes apart the whole and examines its parts, working from the assumption that the whole is the sum, and no more, of its parts. A metaphor, an analytical description, assumes that the whole may well be greater than its parts, and even that in some ways whole and parts may be unknowable, except in terms of an intuitive recognition or sympathy.

Our attention to meals emerged gradually as we discussed questionnaire after questionnaire; no one question asks anything about meals directly. Rather we found bits and pieces of meals falling out of all sorts of questions—feelings about the activity of every hour of the day, attitudes toward housework and cooking, success or failure in assuming leadership positions, sources of power and conflict, desires for the next generation. We may have been especially taken with the topic as the metaphor emerged organically from our readings; it was not preconceived in any way, except as a question we often ask about literature which describes meals. (For example, why does Virginia Woolf describe Mrs. Ramsey officiating over her boeuf en daube in To The Lighthouse with such detail? Is Mrs. Ramsey in charge of her meal? How and why does her meal fail, succeed?)

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[1] Friedrich Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), p. 164.

In many of these women's mealtime stories we see a collision spot in the marriage and family of traditional/modern, male/female ways, his mother's stories and hers, her way of loving possibly unrecognized by one who had learned to love differently. Those women who want to serve meals are lucky surely to be able to demonstrate their love daily, in a concrete form, nurturing both physically and, if their gifts are appreciated by the family, mentally. But they are cursed as well by their compulsion to fulfill their own ideals and by the need to gather everyone in the house into willing participation. A woman's ideal may well require conversion of a "heathen" husband and manipulation from birth of the children's perspectives on life. Although we can see the potential for disaster, many of us set forth within this explicit tradition of community, responding to values so tacit we can scarcely articulate them.

In the daily routines described in the questionnaire, most of the women administer the meal; that's "her job" in the words of several. The woman prepares the meal, which she envisions as an opportunity for fellowship among family and friends. She serves, she directs. She wants all to go smoothly in the direction she chooses, with respectful and intimate conversation among the members of the group. Occasionally it does, often it does not. Not all family meals as described in the pages of the questionnaire or in literature are occasions of celebration—quite the contrary. But even though a sizeable number of women describe dinner time as the most stressful and resented period of their day, many of these women still feel responsible for re-creating a salon for the family every evening.

Two factors that help to separate stories of mealtimes into pleasant or unpleasant ones are those of time and choice. When the woman chooses to cook and can cook well, when she has time to savor the meal, she enjoys the task. It becomes something other than a job; it can be a gift, an "offering" as Virginia Woolf's Mrs. Dalloway would say. One woman's life is of a piece with her happiest memories from the past. She remembers most pleasantly "Sundays when our whole family would gather for brunch and spend as much as two hours of enjoyable conversation with good food. Presently mealtime with my husband is a very happy time also; mealtimes seem to provide a natural environment for that sharing." She feels "peaceful, relaxed, happy" as she prepares the evening meal and looks forward to its pleasures. For another young woman meals are clearly a time of courting: "I often fix supper for my boyfriend because I'm home and have time, but often he fixes it. We share the clean up." She feels no resentment at all and says that "supper is usually a nice relaxed time. Usually I don't mind because cooking for two is a lot easier and more fun than cooking for one. It's nice to visit and have someone to eat with."

For these women the physical task of preparing the meals is not overly burdensome because they live with others who share their values. Are they the lucky ones? Is it simply that they have less to contend with? Or are they successful leaders? Their pleasant stories surely keep the ideal alive.

Other women who are pressed for time and feel they have no choice in the matter reflect an entirely different attitude toward meals. Many of their lines of description repeat the word "expect." Meals for them are no gift to anyone, but rather an unpleasant duty. One schoolteacher says she always feels pressured about preparing dinner, "like I must get done, must clean up right away. I have to fix supper right away. Everyone's hungry." Another woman writes of her family, "They're big enough to do more so I feel taken advantage of." One woman feels that the evening meals should be a point of compromise in her marriage, but that it is she who always gives way. She resents "having to have them. I really could do with a little some nights, but he would like a dinner." Her frustration grows so great that she often wishes she could eat alone, but she knows that her "spouse enjoys" the meal and that it's a good family time. A working woman who likes to cook and eat good food expresses her resentment that "sometimes there is an expectation that I will fix dinner (by omission, of course)." She feels that "we wouldn't have a semi-regular routine if I didn't take the lead. Sometimes I get angry." But when all goes well, she is reconciled: "I love to eat and when we talk together, it tastes better."

Preparing food is not a matter of choice with those women who dislike the task. For most "jobs" a person interviews, investigates the skills necessary, and chooses from several options. Not so with cooking. Even if she "hates it"—an oft-repeated verb before the direct object "cooking"—the woman still must perform her job or at least present the ready-made food on the table. But we know that having to do work one doesn't enjoy or can't do well leads to resentment and may well cause guilt. One respondent expresses such feelings honestly: "I don't like to cook so when I hear of a friend of mine baking cookies or a cake I feel I should also do these kinds of things." Another wishes away her failures for her daughters: "I hope my daughters enjoy cooking more than I do. I hate it!"

Many of the women in the survey change their ideals or find means of supporting and reinforcing their own desires rather than relying on the family's good feelings. They argue for the intrinsic value of good food, the importance of the chemistry behind cooking, the nutritional contribution they make to their family's health. One young woman left her job teaching "kids hyped-up on sugar (nutritionally starved) to help organize/operate/steer a food co-op." When she cooks and eats, it's "good food." A young mother remains in touch with the origins of good food through a "vegetable garden in spring and summer" and home-canned and frozen foods in the winter. A mother of two young children has made a large commitment to food and its preparation and she finds it worth the effort: "We eat a low meat, healthy, mostly-from-scratch diet and this takes planning and preparation. The results, I feel, are worth the effort. In fact, nutrition is a sort of hobby of mine." A retired dietician comments that "studying nutrition and dietetics helped in my career as wife and mother and offered me a career in a vital profession." She feels that "a knowledge of good nutrition is one of the greatest needs in our country and the world."

When I began writing this essay, without benefit of Nietzsche's wisdom, I naively assumed that meals were matriarchal, based on the female, governed by the female, responsive chiefly to the female. But then when I was talking over this paper with a friend, she mentioned in passing that all the meals in her early marriage were patriarchal. She didn't have any idea what she meant, she said; she just blurted out an impression. As we were thinking over myths about meals we kept coming up with male functions: Nestor's feast for Telemachus in The Odyssey, Atreus' "feast" banquet in Anna Karenina, The Eucharist. My friend remembered Nietzsche's words on the subject—the opening text. We thought of all those little things, like lines you've heard and said over and over, "What a relief, I don't have to cook tonight. My husband isn't coming home." Or, "We're having dinner at 6:00 p.m. regardless of your basketball game; your father has a meeting at 7:00 p.m. and has to eat at 6:00 p.m."

Her own mother, Penny Jameson said, put all the bowls of beautifully prepared food before her father and he then served the family. In my family, my mother prepared everything, put the bowls of starch and vegetables by her place, served the plates, and then passed them to my father who served the meat which he had carved. He sits at the "head," she at the "foot"; he blesses the food and often dominates the conversation. Perhaps evening meals are more of a celebration of he who brings home the bacon than we might at first think, a carefully arranged time for him to talk with his children, as they might not meet otherwise. A friend was telling me how much she enjoyed the highly social time preparing the meal when all the children came in to the kitchen and told her about their days. She hated, however, the actual meal—she always lost her appetite when the conversation, dominated by her husband, did not go smoothly. Does the woman, then, dominate the kitchen, the man the table? These examples suggest that the evening meal, arranged at the male's convenience, offers tribute to the bread-winner for how well he has done his job and reaffirms the family as a stratified social unit. Or, to turn the coin over, is my original assumption ultimately valid; does she set things up so that he looks like he has the power? It may be that we want to think about the implications of the traditional mealtime tableau.

In our questionnaire we found some suggestive answers as well as many questions about how to maintain the traditional values of communication and family and still move out of the patriarchal structure which upholds these values (or so the story goes). The responses on the questionnaires frequently mention the alternatives of pot lucks, eating out, rotating meal responsibility. These alternatives have in common encouraging individual variations in preserving fellowship, equalizing power—or at least taking turns, and diffusing the family value structure toward greater flexibility and tolerance.

I'll end with no metaphysical conclusions or questions, and not even with a debunking of Nietzsche as you might wish. Instead, let me know your thoughts on this subject, and the thoughts of those who share your tables. We need many more ideas. Write us your stories, please.

IBSEN'S A DOLL'S HOUSE: A DIRECTORIAL PERSPECTIVE ON PERFORMING NORA

Dwight E. Watson, Wabash College

> The very critics who begin by railing at her as a puppet end by denouncing her as a woman. She irritates, troubles, fascinates them as no puppet ever could. . . . As for (Torvald) Helmer, I am not aware that any one has accused him of unreality. He is too real for most people—he is commonplace, unpleasant, objectionable. The truth is, he touches us too nearly; he is the typical husband of what may be called chattel matrimony. If there are few Doll's Houses in England, it is certainly for lack of Noras, not for lack of Helmers.[1]
> —William Archer, "Ibsen and English Criticism"

Few incidents in the history of theatre generate as much discussion and debate as the moment when playwright Henrik Ibsen's female protagonist, Nora, closes the door of A Doll's House. The ending provokes the audience as much as Nora's action bewilders Torvald, her husband. After all, what situation could motivate a seemingly content wife of eight years and mother of three small children to abandon her home and family? It is, in part, this question which has fascinated and attracted many superb actresses to the role of Nora. Since the original enactment of Nora, critics as well as audiences continue to be baffled.

In the world of female dramatic characters Nora is exceptional. Nora captivates the audience with her charm; she has the power not only to elicit empathy but to persuade the audience to understand her predicament. For this reason she has become a symbol for women's rights. To many she is an oppressed woman who has the courage and determination to take action against man's subjugation of woman. However, Nora does not belong to any political or social group; she stand alone and endeavors to exercise her rights as a free human being. In the final scene of Act III, Nora speaks:

> I believe that I am first and foremost a human being, like you—or anyway, that I must try to become one. I know most people think as you do, Torvald, and I know there's something of the sort to be found in books. But I'm no longer prepared to accept what people say and what's written in books. I must think things out for myself, and try to find my own answers.[2]

Nora's words speak to the individual as clearly as any declaration of independence. She is unique, a representation of one human being's struggle for identity and self-worth.

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[1] William Archer, "Ibsen and English Criticism" found in Ibsen: The Critical Heritage, ed. Michael Egan (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 117.

[2] Henrik Ibsen, A Doll's House, trans. Michael Meyer (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1966), pp. 97-98. Further references are to this translation, and page numbers are included in the text.

I chose to direct A Doll's House as part of the 1983-84 Wabash College Theatre season. Since October of 1983 I have been rehearsing this play, and in less than two weeks I will be sitting in a darkened theatre (or more likely, pacing the lobby) as Nora "struts and frets her hour upon the stage." It is part of my responsibility as director to give focus and shape to the play and guidance to all who participate in it. My objective is to present an interpretation of A Doll's House which will encourage the audience, in Nora's words, "to think things out" and "to find answers." In preparation for this directorial project, I have had to give some consideration to previous productions of the play and performances of Nora.

The role of Nora was originated by Betty Hennings, a young Scandinavian actress, at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen on December 21, 1879, less than one month after the first printed publication of A Doll's House. The play and Hennings' performance were unqualified successes. The actress characterized her original attempt as delighting in Nora the "songbird" and "squirrel" found in the opening scene of Act I:[3]

> Helmer: Is that my skylark twittering out there?
> Nora: It is!
> Helmer: Is that my squirrel rustling?
> Nora: Yes!
> Helmer: When did my squirrel come home?
> Nora: Just now.
>
> (p. 24)

In Act II, Hennings amused herself as Nora the coquettish butterfly:

> Nora: If little squirrel asked you really prettily to grant her a wish—
> Helmer: Well?
> Nora: Would you grant it to her?
> Helmer: First I should naturally have to know what it was.
> Nora: Squirrel would do lots of pretty tricks for you if you granted her wish.
> Helmer: Out with it, then.
> Nora: Your little skylark would sing in every room—
> Helmer: My little skylark does that already.
> Nora: I'd turn myself into a little fairy and dance for you in the moonlight, Torvald.
>
> (pp. 59-60)

Nora may appear delightful as the pampered plaything, but to dramatize those qualities alone would be to seriously limit the possibilities inherent in Nora. At the beginning she appears to be an irresponsible and euphoric doll-wife, but by the end of Act I she reveals patterns of complex thought in moments of self-doubt. The complexity of her actions becomes paramount in Act II, as her thoughts race from manipulation to suicide; these frustrations culminate in her desperate dance of the tarantella.

In her first portrayal of Nora, Betty Hennings was enamored with Nora's frivolity; however, Hennings had the opportunity to give Nora a more serious look when she returned to recreate Nora twelve years later. As a seasoned and mature actress, she realized that her original Nora was less than complete. She was quoted as saying, "The first acts leave me indifferent. Not until the third act am I really

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[3] William Archer, "Introduction," A Doll's House (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917), p. 21.

interested—but then, intensely."[4] We need only to hear a segment from Act III to understand Hennings' comment:

> **Helmer:** Nora, I would gladly work for you night and day, and endure sorrow and hardship for your sake. But no man can be expected to sacrifice his honour, even for the person he loves.
>
> **Nora:** Millions of women have done it.
>
> **Helmer:** Oh, you think and talk like a stupid child.
>
> **Nora:** That may be. But you neither think nor talk like the man I could share my life with. . . . once the danger was past, then as far as you were concerned it was exactly as though nothing had happened. I was your little songbird just as before—your doll whom henceforth you would take particular care to protect from the world because she was so weak and fragile. Torvald, in that moment I realized that for eight years I had been living here with a complete stranger, and had borne him three children—! Oh, I can't bear to think of it! I could tear myself to pieces!
>
> (pp. 99-100)

Whereas Hennings' mature recreation of Nora found its stronghold in the third act and final scene, this segment proved troublesome for other actresses.

In 1880, a popular German actress, Hedwig Niemann-Raabe, chose to produce A Doll's House and to act the role of Nora, but only if the ending were changed to a happy one. She felt the original was a moral outrage, exclaiming, "I would never leave my children!" Ibsen had no legal copyright protection in Germany, and rather than submit the play to butchered adaptation, he wrote an alternative "happy ending."[5]

Initial American performances also contained the "happy ending" as well as new titles for the play. The first production was staged in Milwaukee on June 2, 1882, under the name of The Child Wife. The following year A Doll's House, retitled Thora, was presented at the Macauley's Theatre in Louisville, Kentucky. A reviewer for the Louisville Courier-Journal recalls the alternative ending:

> Thoroughly disillusioned as to his character, she (Nora) withdraws, dons a street dress and announces her intention of leaving her husband forever. He expostulates, argues and pleads in vain, but finally, through the medium of the children, some indefinite talk about "religion," there is a reunion, a rushing together and a falling curtain on a happy family tableau.[6]

In this production Nora was portrayed by Helena Modjeska and was said to be "innocent," "gay," and "full of beauty and varying charm" in the first act; she is described as reaching "a nervous intensity and strength and yet maintaining a rare delicacy and grace" in the second act, and by the third Modjeska was "the strength of every scene." The reviewer concluded by predicting the play would never gain the favor of the American theatregoer, but he saw the palpitating spirit in the character of Nora and knew this would "insure it continual life."[7]

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Michael Meyer, Ibsen, A Biography (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1971), p. 459.

[6] Moses & Brown, The American Theatre as Seen by its Critics: 1752-1934 (New York: W.W. Norton, 1934), pp. 102-03.

[7] Ibid.

When Janet Achurch first presented Nora to the London public in a limited run of *A Doll's House* at the Novelty Theatre, critics were quick to react. The reaction was not so much to Achurch's performance as it was to Nora's decision to leave her home. In July, 1889, Clement Scott, theatre critic for the *Telegraph* and editor of a magazine called *Theatre*, was moved to say this about the character:

> Nora, when she finds her husband is not the ideal hero she imagined, determines to cap his egoism with her selfishness. . . . The frivolous butterfly, the Swedish Frou-Frou, the spoiled plaything has mysteriously become an Ibsenite revivalist. There were no previous signs of her conversion, but she has exchanged playfulness for preaching.[8]

Scott is puzzled as to how quickly Nora seems to forget eight years of marriage and her duty to three small children. He says: "A cat or dog would tear anyone who separated it from its offspring, but the socialistic Nora, the apostle of the new creed of humanity, leaves her children almost without a pang."[9]

When Nora closes the door of her "doll house," Torvald is left shaken and disturbed; he cannot understand the logic of Nora's departure. For years, critics as well as audiences have been left feeling much as Torvald does at the end of the play. Why is it difficult to accept the fact that Nora leaves? Certainly, this may not be the romantic ending for which some audience members may hope, but doesn't it seem that Nora has justification for leaving? Doesn't the dramatic departure seem the logical and appropriate action for this woman to take? As a director, I find that posing these questions and attempting to answer them is basic to my understanding of Nora and the play. One of my duties is to assist the actress in making choices which lead to a logical and believable conclusion.

In the Wabash production, Nora will be played by actress Dana K. Warner.[10] The greatest problem I foresee for her in performing Nora is the potential to fall into the trap of exchanging playfulness for preaching. Early in the rehearsal, Dana and I discussed the need to build a strong foundation to justify the final outcome. I believe, unlike critic Clement Scott, that Ibsen provides many "signs" and signals of Nora's conversion. From the beginning, Ibsen foreshadows Nora's eventual and inevitable departure when he likens Nora to birds and squirrels, small animals that are undomesticated and, by their very nature, defy captivity:

> Helmer: Oh, Nora, Nora, how like a woman! No, but seriously, Nora, you know how I feel about this. No debts! Never borrow! [Nora is on her knees arranging Christmas gifts. Torvald takes her hand and pulls her to him, center stage. Note: The move to center stage is to give visual emphasis to the next line.] A home that is founded on debts can never be a place of freedom and beauty. [Pause.] We two have stuck it out bravely up to now; and shall continue to do so for the short time we still have to.
>
> Nora: [She moves away from Torvald.] Very well, Torvald. As you say.

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[8] Clement Scott, Review of *A Doll's House* in *Ibsen: The Critical Heritage*, ed. Michael Egan (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 114.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Dana K. Warner is a professionally trained actress living in Crawfordsville, Indiana. She has given much time and talent to our theatre, and I'm most fortunate in casting her as Nora.

Helmer: Now, now! My little songbird mustn't droop her wings. What's this? Is little squirrel sulking?[11]

(p. 25)

To facilitate closer examination of Nora's action, I have divided the play into twenty-two scenes. Nora appears in all except scene 1 (pp. 78-82) of Act III. For each scene, I have chosen an objective which describes a barrier Nora wishes to overcome. Each scene's objective supports or enhances Nora's overall goal, which is to protect herself and her family. I will discuss a few key objectives below.

Throughout Act I, Ibsen indicates that Nora is more than an innocent doll. In her first scene, Dana's objective is to loosen Torvald's purse strings by placating him:

Helmer: You can't deny it, Nora dear. [Torvald is seated down right, Nora stands next to him.] The squanderbird's a pretty little creature [he touches her face] , but she gets through an awful lot of money. [He turns away from Nora to busy himself at the desk.] It's incredible what an expensive pet she is for a man to keep.

Nora: [Her reaction to "expensive pet" reveals a hint of resentment and pain.] For shame! How can you say such a thing? I save every penny I can.

Helmer: That's quite true. Every penny you can. But you can't. Torvald stands and is facing away from Nora.

Nora: [Nora revels in the thoughts of her secret deed.] Hm. If only you knew how many expenses we larks [her hands flutter upwards] and squirrels have, Torvald. [Note: Nora plays with ease the role of the "songbird," but the audience must begin to sense that there is more to Nora than what appears on the surface.]

(p. 26)

In scene 2 (pp. 28-37), Nora announces to Mrs. Linde, her confidante, her delight in Torvald's recent appointment which promises to bring the family financial security.

Nora: It's lovely to have heaps of money and not to have to worry about anything. Don't you think?

Linde: It must be lovely to have enough to cover one's needs, anyway.

Nora: [Nora rises.] Not just our needs! We're going to have heaps and heaps of money! [She moves in a wide arch behind Linde to Linde's left side. Note: This move is to give emphasis to Nora's next move and line.]

Linde: Nora, Nora, haven't you grown up yet? When we were at school you were such a terrible little spendthrift.

Nora: Yes, Torvald still says that. [Nora crosses behind Linde, glances at Torvald's study, and shakes her finger.] But "Nora, Nora" isn't as silly as you think. [This is another sign that Nora isn't merely a plaything.]

(p. 30)

Later in this scene, feeling compelled to defend herself (Dana's objective), Nora reveals the secret which explains the subtext of her previous lines. She says, "I too have done something to be happy and proud about. [At this time Dana chose to place her left

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[11] All directorial notations in brackets are from the Wabash College production.

hand gently on her chest.] It was I who saved Torvald's life" Nora has knowingly forged her father's name in order to borrow money for a trip that Torvald's doctor recommended. Nora seems to believe it is her wifely duty to nurture and protect Torvald. The following segment is Nora's justification for her actions:

Linde:	And you've never told your husband about this?
Nora:	For heaven's sake, no! What an idea! He's frightfully strict about such matters. And besides—he's so proud of being a man—it'd be so painful and humiliating for him to know that he owed anything to me. It'd completely wreck our relationship. This life we have built together would no longer exist.

(p. 35)

By committing this act of forgery, Nora can no longer exist in the protective world of the innocent child. Instead of informing her husband of her deed, which she knows he will reject, she conceals the fact. She says, "When it no longer amuses him to see me dance and dress up and play the fool for him. Then it might be useful to have something up my sleeve." She imagines that one day, when Torvald is told the truth, their relationship will mature and she will no longer be his doll-wife but his equal. However, until then Nora continues to wear a mask and joyfully perform the role of "dutiful wife."

The severity of her action and the potential danger which surrounds her "secret" become apparent in scenes 7 and 8 of Act I. In scene 7 (pp. 44-49), Krogstad, in an attempt to secure his job at the bank, threatens to publicly announce Nora's "secret." Nora responds, "All right, do it! You'll be the one who'll suffer. It'll show my husband the kind of man you are, and then you'll never keep your job." Nora is still convinced that Torvald will defend her at all costs. When Krogstad's first attempt to intimidate Nora fails, he badgers Nora until she is made aware of the seriousness of her forgery.

This scene reveals a determination in Nora's character only hinted at previously. Dana is directed to square off with Krogstad and to match him word for word. Toward the end of the scene, Dana is to cross up stage center, on the same plane with Krogstad, and to deliver the following lines with a simple and innocent firmness of conviction. "Hasn't a daughter the right to shield her father from worry and anxiety when he's old and dying? Hasn't a wife the right to save her husband's life? I don't know much about the law, but there must be something somewhere that says that such things are allowed." When Krogstad leaves at the end of the scene, Nora is left alone on stage to question, "I did it for love, didn't I?"

A confirmation of Krogstad's accusations occurs in scene 8 (pp. 49-53) of Act I. Torvald, unaware that he is incriminating Nora, preaches that "an atmosphere of lies contaminates and poisons every corner of the home. Every breath that the children draw in such a house contains the germs of evil." Nora is stunned. Her "secret" and "pride" are now looked at as debased, immoral, and criminal. Worst of all, her children might be contaminated by her actions.

In scene 1 (pp. 54-55) of Act II, Ibsen provides further evidence of Nora's thoughtful preparation to leave her family. In this scene Nora's objective is to secure Anne-Marie, the children's nurse, as a mother for them. "And if my little ones had no one else. I know you would—." Nora does not have the heart to complete her thought.

Later in Act II, scene 3 (pp. 59-63), Nora struggles to change the course of action but fails to convince her husband of the tremendous harm Krogstad might cause if he isn't allowed to keep his job. Her "obstinance" forces Torvald to say, "When the real crisis comes, you will not find me lacking in strength or courage. I am man enough to bear the burden for us both." Once again, Dana is reminded that Nora's overall goal is to protect her family, as foreshadowed in her line, "I shall never let you do that."

The most disputed passage of dialogue, aside from the play's resolution, occurs in scene 4 (pp. 63-69) of Act II. Nora believes that Dr. Rank might financially help her to prevent the inevitable from happening. However, before she has a chance to confide in Rank, he tells her that he has a terminal spinal disease. Rank attributes the illness to the sins of his father and says, "In every single family, in one way or another, the same merciless law of retribution is at work—." These comments remind Nora that her "lies" are poisoning her children. In this scene Dana's problem is to communicate the necessity of meeting Nora's overwhelming personal needs without seeming insensitive to Rank's illness. As always, Nora's priority is to protect her family. Dana will play the scene without artifice, delivering each line and movement with great sincerity.

For the remainder of Act II, Nora races from one complication to another; as each new scene builds, catastrophe approaches. In her desperate attempt to keep Torvald from the mail (which contains a letter revealing her "secret") she violently dances the tarantella. This dance serves as her last attempt to masquerade as Torvald's wife.

In Act III, she reaches the point of utter despair and believes that the only way to save her husband from public humiliation and her children from moral degeneration is to commit suicide. One year before the play was released, Ibsen wrote:

> The wife in the play finds herself at last entirely at sea as to what is right and what is wrong; natural feeling on the one side, and belief in authority on the other, leave her in utter bewilderment. . . . She has committed forgery, and it is her pride; for she did it for love of her husband, and to save his life. But this husband, full of everyday rectitude, stands on the basis of the law and regards the matter with a masculine eye.[12]

When Torvald discovers Nora's secret forgery in scene 5 (pp. 88-92) of Act III, he inadvertently reveals his pathetic weakness.

Helmer: [Torvald grabs Nora's arm.] Wretched woman! What have you done?

Nora: [Nora struggles as she tries to save Torvald from harm.] Let me go! You're not going to suffer for my sake. I won't let you!

Helmer Stop being theatrical. [Torvald pushes Nora into the room and closes the doors.] You're going to stay here and explain yourself. [He moves furiously toward Nora.] Do you understand what you have done? [Nora turns slowly to the audience.] Answer me! Do you understand?

Nora: [There is a pause as Nora's expression grows colder.] Yes. Now I am beginning to understand.

(pp. 90-91)

Torvald's moral self-righteousness now becomes evident as his thoughts turn to self-preservation. He panics: "Now you have destroyed all my happiness. . . . I am condemned to humiliation and ruin simply for the weakness of a woman." During

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[12] William Archer, "Introduction," A Doll's House, Ibsen's "Notes for the Tragedy of Today" (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917), p. 4.

Torvald's tirade, Dana will rock gently in the rocker and stare directly ahead. When a second letter is delivered which offers him an escape, Nora's thoughts turn from suicide to the realization that she and Torvald have been playing a masquerade. She says, "In that moment I realized that for eight years I had been living here with a complete stranger, and had borne him three children."

Dana and I have discussed the final confrontation scene between Nora and Torvald. This climactic scene, for Nora, represents a resolution in her character. I have stressed the importance of this resolve because I believe that Nora must be emotionally prepared to leave Torvald and her children. There are no tears, no preaching, only a quiet determination to do what she thinks is best for all.

To emphasize my belief that Nora is taking the logical action in leaving her family, Dana is directed to close the door quietly in the final scene. There is no door slam in my production. Nora knows she must leave; for her there is no alternative. She has come painfully to this resignation; she is void of violent reactions and weak with the wonder of what lies on the other side of the door. She says, "Goodbye, Torvald. I don't want to see the children. I know they're in better hands than mine. As I am now, I can be nothing to them." Nora believes the only way that she, and possibly Torvald, will understand what has happened in their home is for her to remove herself from the situation and work things out alone.

History has recorded many fine productions of A Doll's House and many actresses attracted to the spirit of Nora. The actress in my production, if she is to succeed, must demonstrate multiple levels of characterization. Throughout her performance she must encourage the audience to suspend all disbeliefs, dismiss all preconceptions, and share the experience of Nora, so that she can say, "Whether you are a man or a woman, as one human being to another, I know you will understand how I feel."

RESPONSE TO IBSEN'S A DOLL'S HOUSE: A DIRECTORIAL PERSPECTIVE ON PERFORMANCES OF NORA

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As a responsible director Dwight has, of course, studied the play as a whole, and has told us something of his approach to Nora. His leading actress will make it clear from the start that Nora is more than a pampered child with a schoolgirl's taste for sweets and for romping with children. But in order to understand Nora thoroughly, we must look to more than just her lines and actions; we must heed the advice Ibsen himself gave to an actress preparing one of his roles:

> The only piece of advice I can give you is to read the whole play over and over again and carefully observe. . . . In earlier times our actors often committed the great mistake of studying their parts in isolation, without paying sufficient regard to the character's position in and connection with the whole work.[1]

As a designer, I am naturally interested in the physical symbols important to any drama. Ibsen provides us with several in this play, using them almost as if they were supporting players. The most obvious and the first to be used is the Christmas tree, a symbol of family festivity, which Nora has placed in the center of the room just after her first disturbing scene with Krogstad. It's almost as if she's denying all of his ugliness to intrude upon her domestic scene. At the beginning of Act II, the tree is again used to symbolize the state of Nora's family life: stripped of ornament, burned out, pushed aside. Another physical symbol, used later in the play, is Nora's Italian costume. By that time, the use of the fancy-dress as a representation of her domestic illusions is more obvious, but still unsuccessful.

But there's more to this play than inanimate objects. As I have already stated, the props were put there by the author to support or clarify the actions of the characters. However, A Doll's House contains many scenes in which the motivations are not clear, and in which a director's interpretation will play a vital role.

Dwight has already referred to the last scene of A Doll's House as one that gives actresses trouble. However, there is a scene earlier in the play that some say is almost as difficult: the scene between Nora and Dr. Rank. For some, it's Nora's last attempt to find a way out of the legal end of her situation, to prevent Torvald's sacrifice—if possible. For others, the scene shows Nora at her worst. The sexual teasing with the stockings and tasteless jokes about the nature of Rank's illness are examples of (perhaps) the bad results of her upbringing. Apparently she has decided that the only way to get anything from a man is through cajoling and teasing; she's never been taught a more self-respecting way. And what about the abrupt ending of the scene, just when she seems to have Rank where she wants him? Has her intuitive sense of "right" finally taken over, preventing her from humiliating Rank, or is she just tired of the game? It's a puzzling scene, and I'm interested in hearing how Dwight will handle it.

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[1] Rolf Fjelde, "Foreword," Ibsen: Four Major Plays (New York: New American Library, 1965), p. xvi.

And of course, no discussion of Nora would be complete without referring, as Dwight has, to that final scene. All that the actress playing Nora has done in Acts I and II must lead up to this point, without giving the end away too soon. It's a tightrope walk at best. How does one convince an audience that a creature who crept on all fours and barked at her children in Act I is a responsible woman by the final curtain? And what of this "miracle" on which she has pinned her hopes? According to one critic, "such a protective action in the name of love is all of a piece with the attitude to which Nora is objecting in Torvald's treatment of her. . . . She blames him now for not thinking of undertaking precisely the kind of knightly rescue of a damsel in distress which would assert his male superiority all over again."[2]

In this light, it would appear that Nora can't decide just what sort of husband she wants.

Nora is a difficult character to play, even for an experienced actress. Many have tried. She fluctuates from one emotional extreme to another: from happiness to despair, from hope to fear, from love of life to longing for death, from the cherished dream of the "miracle" to a sharp sense of reality, from impotence to calm purposefulness.[3] Often Ibsen doesn't give her much time between one extreme and another; it's up to the director and the actress to convince their audience that Nora is a genuinely troubled woman, instead of just flighty.

Yet while she is the center of attention for most of the play, Nora is not the only character Dwight will be directing. It is a mark of Ibsen's skill as a dramatist that no character is wasted or unrelated to the total effect he intended. The other people in this play are more than mere "feeders" for Nora, and the choices made in the portrayal of each one can affect the communication of the themes and ideas of this play. I'm interested now in hearing about how Dwight has approached the other characters, and how each will contribute to his overall concept for this play.

Anne-Marie we don't see very much, but what's there is important. She provides an example of a woman rescued from "trouble," and acts as a sort of mother for the children, which helps to emphasize Nora's doll-ness.

Dr. Rank almost belongs in my paragraph about symbols. He is the physical embodiment of the moral disease referred to in others—a walking, talking example of the "sins of the father." He is written as incredibly pessimistic, believing that every family must have suffering akin to his, and his obsession with his own death could border on the morbid, depending on the way he is portrayed. And how much does one play his love for Nora? Is it important that we (the audience) know about it, through subtext perhaps, before it is revealed in the dialogue?

Krogstad is the villain of the piece, the "moral incurable" who provides the opportunity for Nora's "miracle." In his scenes, the potential for melodrama is almost palpable: he appears very suddenly, disrupting the children's merriment, and holds the naive heroine in his evil clutches. Care must be taken even regarding the physical appearance

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2. Ronald Gray, Ibsen—A Dissenting View: A Study of the Last Twelve Plays (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 57.
3. Edvard Beyer, Ibsen: The Man and His Work (New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., 1980), p. 38.

of this character in order to avoid a stereotype, for Krogstad's other function as an example of a corrupting parent is important to the drama.

Mrs. Linde presents another potential problem in interpretation. She stands in direct contrast to Nora, acting as foil as well as confidante. She's an unhappy woman, but for reasons quite different from Nora's. Mrs. Linde has had the independence and been through the sacrifices that Nora only begins to think about by the end of the play. Unfortunately, her freedom has not made her happy at all. Mrs. Linde has been out in the world, making her own way, but she's desolate without a family, so she offers herself to Krogstad, of all people. Is this Ibsen's way of "tidying up" the minor characters, or does she illustrate what one critic calls a "fundamental truth" about women: that no woman is complete without the "anchor of a husband and children"?[4] Is Mrs. Linde really such a feminist's nightmare, or is she simply a woman who understands her own needs—perhaps better than most? The choices that Dwight and his two leading actresses make will determine the balance between the two characters, which will in turn affect the believability of their actions.

So, we come to Torvald. The individual actor's portrayal of Torvald is crucial to the audience's acceptance of the domestic situation. Just as Nora must be played as more than a feminist ahead of her time, trapped in a man's world, Torvald must become more than a caricature of the chauvinistic, insensitive husband. Such a Torvald would be no match for a well-played Nora, and would have no business on the same stage with her. Interestingly enough, Ibsen's choice for the original Torvald was an actor named Gustav Fredrikson, a star of light melodrama and drawing-room comedy who was admired for his elegance and charm: the Cary Grant of his time. Most modern Torvalds, on the other hand, are virtually cardboard cutouts, and don't hold up against recent Noras: Jane Fonda, Liv Ullmann, Claire Bloom.[5] Modern actors consider Torvald to be a thankless role, perhaps because at times it seems that Ibsen exaggerated Torvald's flaws in order to make Nora's struggles believable. Any actor playing Torvald must keep in mind that Torvald is as complex a character as Nora, and has motives that—for him—are just as valid as hers. Nora is not the only one who's the product of a society's conditionings. Torvald also does what's expected of him as husband and provider, and works so hard at his career that his health collapses. He appears to be a good father and attentive lover who appreciates the beautiful things in his life, including Nora. Some critics maintain that Torvald is as much a "doll" as Nora, that he's also playing a part to which he may or may not be suited.[6]

Perhaps the key to Torvald's character is in his reaction to Nora's crime. Of course, we know what he says; his egotism at that point is almost too much to bear. First he turns on Nora in vulgar rage, calling her cheat, liar, and worse. Then, when the IOU is returned, he shouts: "I am saved!" But the actor playing Torvald must consider what might lie behind those lines. Here we have a man who was brought up to believe that the man is the breadwinner for the family (remember, this is 1879), who discovers that in fact it was Nora who, in a crisis, saved him from physical ruin. His concept of his place in society is shattered. On top of that, he has Nora's love pulled out from

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4. Rolf Fjelde, ed., Ibsen: A Collection of Critical Essays (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 106.
5. Errol Durbach, ed., Ibsen and the Theatre: The Dramatist in Production (New York: New York University Press, 1980), p. 120.
6. Ibid., p. 122.

under him while, by the nature of his conventional code, he has hardly an inkling of what he can possibly have done that was wrong.[7]

Or does he? Did Ibsen intend for Torvald to have his own dramatic moment of self-recognition, and if so, how can a director bring it to the audience's attention when all eyes are on Nora? And, Dwight, you can bring even more to this discussion of Torvald than I—you're a married man with a small child. Have you thought about how you would feel if your wife acted as Nora does? Can you apply any of that to your production of A Doll's House?

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[7] Fjelde, "Forward," p. xxvi.

MARITAL METAPHORS IN THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN TRADITION:
A FEMINIST CRITIQUE

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Symbolic images have a powerful influence on our perception of the world. Philosophers and psychologists have demonstrated that metaphors not only shape our thinking, but also determine the categories in which we think. In this way images can exert an enabling and ennobling influence on both language and personal relationships. But powerful images also possess the potential to control and constrain our thinking, effectively negating other creative possibilities.

One such set of powerful images comes from the marital metaphors in Jewish and Christian theology. As the Hebrew prophets, the New Testament writers, and the theologians of the early Church struggled to portray the relationship between Yahweh and Israel or Christ and the Church, they often turned to images of Bride and Bridegroom, or Husband and Wife.

The first portion of this paper traces the historical development of this marriage imagery through the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the early centuries of the Christian Church, while the second portion examines the impact of these images on contemporary women and on female-male relationships.

Early Old Testament Period

The use of marital imagery in the Old Testament is based on two premises: 1) The deity (Yahweh) is fundamentally male; 2) Yahweh has no divine consort. In all other ancient Near Eastern religions, the majority of the deities, and the most powerful deities, were male. But in all these other religions, the major male deities had female counterparts who also had divine status.

The absence of a divine female counterpart to Yahweh made possible the figurative identification of the nation Israel as the spouse of Yahweh. From the earliest moment that the Israelites realized that they were Yahweh's chosen people, they spoke of this relationship as "knowing" Yahweh, using yada, a word with a definite nuptial dimension. However, it is not until the time of Hosea that this marriage theme is explicitly stated.

To Hosea, Yahweh is the Divine Husband, and Israel is his Wife. From this perspective, Israel's unfaithfulness (the worship of other gods) is adultery. In Hosea 1:2, Yahweh tells Hosea to act out this relationship in his own life: "Go, marry a whore, and have children by a whore, for the country itself has become nothing but a whore for abandoning Yahweh." Yahweh is an outraged Husband, but he wants repentance, not divorce. He tries to bring his adulterous Wife to her senses by repeated discipline (2:2-13), but when she returns, he will embrace her once again with tenderness and love (2:14-20).

Jeremiah picks up Hosea's imagery and uses it to protest against Israel's faithlessness. Yahweh looks back fondly to Israel's earlier days: he says (2:2), "I remember the devotion of your youth, your love as a bride." But now Israel has turned her back on her Husband and has become like a she-camel in heat (2:23-24). Yahweh says, "Surely, as a faithless wife leaves her husband, so you have been faithless to me, House of Israel," (3:20). Jeremiah (who wrote after the fall of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, but before the fall of Judah, the Southern Kingdom) also introduces a new motif that smacks of polygamy: the sister kingdoms of Israel and Judah are the twin wives of Yahweh, called Faithless Israel and False Judah (3:6-8). Israel was the first to commit adultery, so Yahweh divorced her (3:8). But that did not stop sister Judah from following in her footsteps.

Ezekiel (who wrote during the Exile after the fall of Judah) further develops this concept of twin wives, who were not only adulterous but brazen prostitutes. To further personify the sisters, Ezekiel adds information about their parents (16:45-52) and their early life and development before the marriage to Yahweh, and compares them unfavorably to their (apparently unmarried) sister Sodom. Yahweh's tender love is shown especially in his treatment of the orphan sister Jerusalem/Judah (16:1-14). He bathed her, dressed her in fine robes, and prepared her to be his Bride. But then she became vain and turned to prostitution. Because of her adultery, Yahweh will disgrace and destroy her; yet after her punishment, he will remember his "marriage" vows and take her back.

Late Old Testament Period

In the early Old Testament period, before the destruction of Judah and the exile of its leading citizens, the Wife of Yahweh is weak and unfaithful. The marriage between Yahweh and his chosen nation is headed for divorce. But the destruction of the holy city of Jerusalem shook the Israelite religion to its core, and produced a permanent shift in the use of marriage imagery. In the Post-Exile period, Yahweh is still the Divine Husband, but the personality of his Wife has changed. The disgrace and punishment for adultery had already taken place. Therefore, the chastened remnant of Israel, having returned meekly to her true husband, is idealized as the perfect spouse. The relieved Husband joyfully showers his love on his reunited Wife (Isaiah 54:4-6), and the Wife responds tenderly. There are hints that the Wife had been truly divorced from Yahweh, that she had married other gods or nations, and that she had been widowed (54:4). But all this is forgotten in the preparations for a new and permanent marriage relationship with a bride whose virginity appears to have been restored (62:5).

The Song of Songs reflects this new respectful attitude toward the ideal bride/lover. The Groom says (4:7): "You are wholly beautiful, my love, and without a blemish." The emphasis is on deep and mutual romantic love, with no hint of unfaithfulness or disgrace on the part of the female partner.

Later, in the Hymn of Thanksgiving found in the Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran, the outcome of this romantic union is made explicit: On her deathbed, the pregnant Israel gives birth to the long-awaited Messiah (3:7-10): "For in the waves of death she gave birth to a man-child; with pains of Sheol he bursts forth from the crucible of the pregnant one, a Wonderful Counselor with his power."

Although the image of Yahweh as Husband and restored Israel as the Perfect Wife remained dominant through the late Old Testament period, there are two notable exceptions. In Proverbs 8, the personified female character "Wisdom" claims to have participated with Yahweh in the creation of the world. She says, "I was beside him, like a master workman, and I was daily his delight." This idea of a pre-existing female consort for Yahweh evidently proved unpopular, for the image was rarely picked up by later writers. But Psalm 45, the second exception, proved more influential. The Psalm may originally have been a royal wedding song, but since the Bridegroom is credited with some of the attributes of the Messianic King, the passage was understood as applying to the Messiah, and this paved the way for the next dramatic shift in marriage imagery: the New Testament identification of Christ, not Yahweh, as the Divine Husband. Although the Judaic rabbinical literature continues the earlier imagery, it is beyond the scope of this paper, so we now move to a consideration of the new metaphors developed in Christian theology.

New Testament Period

For the New Testament writers, the appearance of the Messiah brings in a new generation of images. Yahweh and Israel appear to be relegated to the role of grandparents, with Christ as the new Groom. Several times in the Gospels the disciples are compared to the Bridegroom's attendants, and Jesus alludes to himself as the Bridegroom (Mark 2:18-28). Interestingly, the Gospels do not specify who the Bride is, although they do identify John the Baptizer as the "Best Man" (John 3:28-30).

But St. Paul has no hesitation about identifying the Church as the Bride of Christ. Paul says to the Corinthians (2 Cor. 11:2-3): "I feel a divine jealousy for you, for I betrothed you to Christ to present you as a pure bride to her one Husband." Paul also picks up the earlier widow motif: the Jewish people had been married to the Law; but when Christ came, the Law died, and the Jewish Church was free to marry again (Romans 7:1-6).

The capstone of New Testament bridal imagery comes in Ephesians 5. In the context of presenting advice for the human husband-wife relationship, the writer bases his argument on the marriage relationship between Christ and the Church, which is presented as a holy and spotless Bride. "Husbands should love their wives just as Christ loved the Church and sacrificed himself for her to make her holy." (5:25).

Since Paul's marital imagery had the greatest influence on the Early Church as well as on the Christian Church today, it is important to note the differences between Paul's imagery and the Old Testament themes on which he draws. In the O.T. period Yahweh is the Husband, while for Paul the Husband is Christ. In the O.T. period, Israel is a fallen adulteress or a restored wife; for Paul, the Church is a new, virginal Bride. In the O.T., individual Israelites are children of the Spouse-Mother Israel; for Paul, individual Christians are parts (members) of the Spouse-Body, the Church (I Corinthians 12:27). In the O.T., marriage imagery is an allegory; for Paul, it goes beyond allegory to mystical reality.

For Paul, Christ has one Bride, the Church. Yet Paul also seems to speak of an individual spiritual union with Christ: "Do you not know that he who joins himself to a prostitute becomes one body with her? . . . But he who is united to the Lord becomes one spirit with him" (I Cor. 6:16-17). This spiritual union of Christ and the believer would be developed further in later Christian theology.

Early Christian Period

After the New Testament period had ended, the theologians of the Early Church continued to use images of Christ as the Husband and the Church as the Beloved Wife. Pseudo-Clement argues that the Church was created to be Christ's Bride. He says, "I do not suppose that you are ignorant that the living Church is the Body of Christ.

For Scripture says, 'God made man male and female.' The male is Christ; the female is the Church" (II Clem. 14:2).

The odes of Solomon picture the Church as both the Bride of Christ and the Nursing Mother for all Christians. The Church says, "My own breasts I prepare for them, that they might drink my holy milk and live" (Ode 8).

The collective image of the Church as Bride remained dominant into the third century, as can be seen from Tertullian's argument for monogamy based on Christ's example: "He stands before you as a monogamist in spirit, having one Church as his Spouse" (De Monogamia 5). But Tertullian also marks a transition in the use of marriage imagery. He later picks up Paul's secondary image of Christ as the husband of many brides (the individual Christians) and advises virgins to cover their heads as if they were married, "for you are wedded to Christ" (De Oratione 22).

Later Christian Period

After Tertullian, the marriage between Christ and the Church slides into the background. The emphasis now shifts to the spiritual marriage between Christ and individual Christians (especially virginal ones). The imagery also becomes more futuristic. Whereas for Paul the marriage between Christ and his Church was a present reality, the wedding between Christ and the believer gets pushed off into the future. Baptism is the betrothal, but death is the consummation of the marriage between Christ and the individual soul. The spiritual marriage was as real as a marriage between two humans. Thus St. Cyprian could write this advice: "And you virgins, have no husbands; your lord and head is Christ, in the similitude and place of a man" (De Habit. Virg. 22).

Later theologians were even more explicit in their identification of the soul as Christ's Bride. When St. Agnes was awaiting martyrdom, Pseudo-Ambrose urged her, "Come now, O Virgin, to the bridal chambers that you have longed for. For the love of the Bridegroom, receive the Sword of the executioner, that your spotless virginity may show you to be the Spouse of Christ" (Sermo 48:11). Just as the Qumran Hymn of Thanksgiving had envisioned the Messiah as the offspring from the union of Yahweh and Israel, so Origen speaks of the "intercourse of the Word, the Bridegroom, with the soul, the Bride, from which offspring is fitly born" (Comm. on Matthew 19:5).

This simplified overview has demonstrated that marriage imagery has had a long and varied history in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Because of the great mysteries of God's first covenant with Israel, and God's new covenant with all believers, Biblical and post-Biblical writers turned to the marital metaphor as a way of explaining the relationship between Yahweh and Israel, and between Christ and the Church. Some writers viewed the Divine Marriage as an allegory; others saw it as the true reality, of which everything else is but a shadow. For all of them, the powerful images became a vehicle for expressing their convictions about the present and their hope for the future.

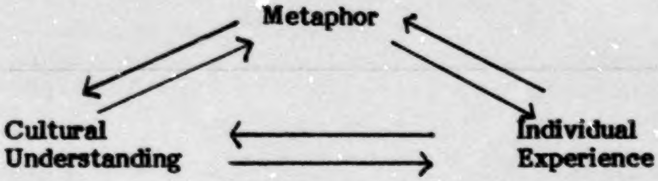
But the world today is quite different from the world these writers experienced. The task for us today is to explore the impact of these images on contemporary Christianity and Judaism, especially on the implications for female-male identity and relationships. We will first examine the power of mythic metaphors in general, and then turn to the specific influence of these marital metaphors.

The Power of Mythic Metaphors

Metaphors relate two objects or concepts that otherwise are not apparently related, in order to provide new insights. However, when a metaphor has been elevated to the level of religious myth, the metaphor takes on considerable power over the culture and over individuals' lives. Religious myths are not argued as fact, though they may be straightforward. Their underlying mood is imperative: they shape the goals we aspire to, the values we maintain, and the behavior in which we engage. The marital metaphor, for example, doesn't describe a real situation; yet the use of the metaphor helps bring about what it declares to exist.

We organize our world cognitively. The original ordering of that world is done in a very concrete way, derived from and constrained by our personal childhood experiences. So our concept of marriage is shaped first by the specific experiences we had within our immediate families, later by other influences in our broader environment (friends, extended family, media), and later still by more abstract doctrines such as those taught in churches and synagogues. These layers of personal experience and cultural conditioning influence how we hear the marital metaphor and how we apply it.

Metaphors, then, are understood not only from the culturally shared meaning given them, but also from the personal experiences or associations made by the listener. The images shape our reality, but our reality also shapes the images.



The marital metaphor itself is shaped by the conceptions of those proposing it. So it has been, from Biblical times, predominantly a male-defined image. In the metaphor, when God is the husband and the ultimate authority and the believers are the wife, then the asymmetrical human relationship of dominant husband/submissive wife becomes the implied, natural, God-endorsed order.

Yet the power of the individual to modify the metaphor, or at least its hierarchical intent, is evidenced by the writings of several women mystics during the Middle Ages. The spiritual-virgin life of those women "married to Christ" in the Middle Ages provided opportunities for wholeness, self-expression and even authority, opportunities which were denied them in the church hierarchy and in patriarchal marriage.

For example, after escaping from an arranged marriage which she did not want, Christine of Markyate wrote of Christ coming to her first as a child to be suckled, then as a lover: "And with immeasurable delight she held him at one moment to her virginal breast, at another she felt his presence within her flesh. Who shall describe the abounding sweetness with which the servant was filled by this condescension of her creator? From that moment, the fire of lust was so completely extinguished that never afterward would it be revived."[1] In this passage of erotic spirituality, the roles of mother, bride, lover are intermingled in a way to free the metaphor of its hierarchal confines. This shift of the metaphor into the perspective of the woman's experience provided a language for women to express their relationship to the transcendent.[2]

The Marital Metaphor in Patriarchy

Unfortunately, often the marital metaphors have not served women, or men for that matter, very well. Equating God with maleness and humans with femaleness raises some troublesome questions. We begin our exploration with three issues which develop out of these metaphors. The first issue is power and its abuses; the second is an implied normative scheme of hierarchical heterosexual relationship; the third is mind-body or spirit-flesh dualism.

Power-Authority Abuse. In all of the marital metaphors (with the exception of Wisdom as wife) the bride or woman's place is clear. She has less power. She is dominated by the powerful Husband-God. However, the man's place is ambiguous: is he also the Old Testament whore to be punished, or the submissive Bride of Christ, or is he, by identification with the male role in the metaphor, a powerful stand-in for God? In our patriarchal culture, it has been much easier for the man to understand the metaphor as confirmation of his dominance. Woman, on the other hand, has recognized her place in the metaphor as confirmation of her subservient role. A vivid example comes from the experience of a student from a strict, conservative religious background. As a child she attended a marriage ceremony and heard the word "obey" only from the female. She asked her mother, "Why?" The mother's explanation was based on the marital metaphor—as Christ is the Lord of the church, we females are subject to our husbands. Secretly the student swore she would never say "obey." It's quite likely that her own experience of her mother and father's marriage was not one of obedience (else why her surprise with the word "obey"?). She was challenging not only this particular ceremony, but also the traditional interpretation of the marital metaphor.

The impact of marital imagery is related to the attitudes toward women in the culture. Married women's rights were minimal before 1800. So long as women remained completely dependent on their husbands, the argument that the male's interests included the female's interests rebutted any claim to rights on her part. Men legally controlled the property of their wives—as well as their persons. Historically, by convention and law a man had the right to punish his wife or to take her by force "for her own good." It is not hard to see the Old Testament marital metaphor validating this asymmetry in human marriage.

Hierarchical-Heterosexual. Further, the metaphor supports a hierarchical-heterosexual bias in which woman is redeemed by association with the man-god and only by this association. From this perspective, any independence on the woman's part is selfish and sinful disobedience. When marital conflicts occur, there is only one possible route to reconciliation: the woman must change. If she would only be and remain the pure bride, conflicts could be avoided. Even her weaknesses are acceptable as long as she remains dependent upon her husband's authority. The symbolism of this metaphor makes equality difficult if not impossible, in that challenges to male dominance are equated with sin. John Knox specifically talks about women "stepping into God's place by teaching, judging and reigning. . . ." God's place? Man's place![3]

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[1] Charles H. Talbot, trans. and ed., The Life of Christina of Markyate: A Twelfth-Century Recluse (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 119.

[2] Eleanor L. McLaughin, "The Christian Past: Does it Hold a Future for Women?" in Carol P. Christ and Judith Plaskow, eds., Womanspirit Rising (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), pp. 93-106.

The women who were not fortunate enough to have the wealthy family background of Christina of Markyate suffered misogynist reactions when they attempted to gain independence, claiming the freedom of the Bride of Christ imagery. The following quotation from legal records in Cambridge illustrates the point:

> Cambridge, December 1653. Complaint was forthwith made to William Pickering, then Mayor, that two women were preaching. . . . He asked their names [and] their husbands' names. They told him: they had no husband but Jesus Christ and [that] he sent them. Upon this the Mayor grew angry, called them whores and issued his warrant to the constable to whip them at the Market-Cross till blood ran down their bodies . . . So they were led to the Market-Cross. . . . The executioner . . . stripped them naked to the waist, put their arms into the whipping-post and executed the Mayor's warrant . . . so that their flesh was miserably cut and torn.[4]

The use of the marital metaphor in these cases is clear. Lives which vary from the ideal heterosexual married state (or the celibate single state) are deemed inferior; gay or lesbian liaisons have no place in this metaphor.

Spirit-Flesh Dualism. In addition, several of the marital metaphors equate woman with all that is carnal, evil, tempting. She is flesh; she is nature; she is the body. The later images reinforce this mind-body dualism, as when Paul speaks of being one flesh with a whore versus the spiritual union with the Lord. In this aspect the metaphor seems to validate human domination (and particularly male domination) of the natural environment. This does not encourage environmental awareness! (James Watt, Secretary of the Interior under President Reagan, explicitly demonstrated such an association between man's Christian right to transcend the material world and a lack of concern for the environment.)

The Fate of Marital Metaphors

As we have seen, the marital metaphors interpreted within patriarchal society have promoted specific problems for women, for the environment, and for anyone diverging from traditional heterosexual patterns. Does this invalidate the metaphors? Or doom the feminist believer to unbelief? Not necessarily.

First, our society is becoming less patriarchal. Mary Daly has written that "religious symbols die when the cultural situation that supports them ceases to give them plausibility. This should pose no problem to authentic faith, which accepts the relativity of all symbols and recognizes that fixation upon any of them as absolute in itself is idolatrous."[5] Our culture is changing. This could give rise to new metaphors, or to new understandings of old ones. Remember that individuals shape the metaphor as well as the metaphor shapes the individuals. Secondly, the marital metaphors contain an element of mutuality that has gone largely unnoticed. Where is authority in the metaphor? When we look at earlier understandings, the authority is clearly in man-husband-God. However, in more recent understandings, authority develops out of interaction between partners; priority is not automatically given to anyone. This suggests that God does change in interaction with God's people, just as people change in their interaction with God. In this sense the marriage metaphor recognizes the complexity, ambiguity, and dynamic possibilities of life. Another example comes from a new look at the Post-Exilic imagery with its emphasis on mutual agreement and mutual trust. As we transform the way we understand marriage from subjugation to equality, this particular metaphor places us face to face on equal footing with God. We struggle back and expect respect too.

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[3] John Knox, The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women (London, 1878), pp. 17ff. In Julia O'Faolain and Lauro Martines, eds., Not in God's Image (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 262.

[4] Joseph Besse, "A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers." In Julia O'Faolain and Lauro Martines, eds., Not in God's Image (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 264.

Third, we can also recognize the extension of the imagery as a reconciling force within the community. The metaphor can change our rituals. For example, a recent worship service at a local church included a marriage ritual in which each member "married" all the other members, as well as all other Christians. Here the Bride of Christ images were used to understand that the members were married (i.e., connected in community) not only to God, but to one another in their small group—and to the world-wide community. The metaphor was that they were truly married to the community, not in any abstract sense, but with physical commitment—men to women, women to women, men to men.

Recognizing our commitment within the broader community rather than as individuals shifts the emphasis away from individual sins against authority to institutional sins of oppression and patriarchy. In this way the marital metaphors can be used to expand our horizons rather than narrow them.

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[5] Mary Daly, "After the Death of God the Father: Women's Liberation and the Transformation of Christian Consciousness," in Carol P. Christ and Judith Plaskow, eds., Womanspirit Rising (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), p. 56.

Ninth Annual GLCA Women's Studies Conference

FEMINIST PEDAGOGY AND THE LEARNING CLIMATE

November 4-6, 1983
Geneva Conference Center
Rochester, Indiana

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 4

4:00 - 6:00 PM	Film showings. Two 30-minute videotapes by Doris Chase will each be shown twice during this period. "Mask" charts the odyssey of a young black woman, unravelling her history and discovering her true identity. The stunning performance of Pat Patton, combined with dance and poetry, explores the myth and reality of black women's lives. "Electra Tries to Speak" is a modern interpretation of the classic Greek tragedy. Electra is all women trying to speak . . . though trained to nod and smile and keep quiet and look like they're understanding. It addresses the emerging independent woman and all the power and confusion which this role transition contains.
7:30 - 8:30 PM	Opening keynote address: "Black Studies and Women's Studies: Points of Convergence"—Johnnella Butler, Chair, Department of Afro-American Studies, Smith College.
8:45 - 10:00 PM	First seminar session. Conference participants meet in small groups to introduce key issues in Women's Studies and feminist pedagogy, to discuss the keynote address, and to meet other participants.
10:00 PM	Informal entertainment by Lisa Gray
10:00 PM	Film showing. "Not a Love Story" is a powerful and disturbing film about pornography. It offers the perspectives of some people in the pornography "business," as well as interviews with some of pornography's most outspoken critics, and it provokes strong reactions. There will be an opportunity for discussion after the film is shown.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 5

9:00 - 10:30 AM	Concurrent Sessions: Reaching Out: Beyond the Traditional Campus Roles for Women—This session will address the needs of women other than those in traditional faculty/staff/student roles on our campuses and in our communities, and will discuss their potential for enriching our campus life. In "Mainstreaming the Non-Traditional Student," Sue McCord will explain the aims of the Re-entry Program for

Women at the University of Tampa, and will focus on classroom strategies they have developed for supporting re-entry women. Mary Schilling will speak on our colleges' responsibilities to share resources with community women and women's groups, on ways to include them in programming, and on the benefits to students from such outreach. Louise Reinecke will discuss the role of the independent scholar.—Sue McCord, Re-entry Program for Women, University of Tampa; Mary Schilling, Women's Coordinator, Denison; Louise Reinecke, Greencastle, Indiana; Moderator, Shulamit Decktor, Wooster, Ohio.

Women and Science: Biomedical Case Studies—In order to explore ways in which sex and gender affect choices of subjects, formulation of questions, research strategies, and teaching in the sciences, we will share some historical and contemporary examples from the biomedical sciences. We invite others to bring their own examples. Do you know, for instance, of cases in which scientific questions important to women have been ignored? In which the male is taken as the norm and the female compared to that norm? In which the male is taken to represent the whole species? Together we will analyze the cases and explore strategies for improving scientific research and the teaching of science.—Joan Cadden, History, Kenyon; Bonnie Lamvermeyer, Biology, Denison.

Issues in International Women's Studies—Ellen Weisman's paper, "A Comparison of the Woman's Position in the Societies of England and Yugoslavia," will present research she did while studying on the GLCA European Urban Term. She found that progress has been made towards achieving "woman's equality" in both Yugoslavia and England. But because the cultural, social, political and economic circumstances of the two societies differ dramatically, conceptions and practices of "equality" also vary considerably from one society to the other. Ann Fitzgerald's presentation on "Feminist Issues in Nicaragua" will discuss the key concerns and structures of the Nicaraguan women's movement, as they are integrated into and evolved within the overall revolutionary struggle there. Her presentation (with slides) will be based on her recent trip to Nicaragua, during which she interviewed many individuals and held meetings with AMLAE (the Sandinista women's organization), and on her research.—Ellen Weisman, Oberlin; Ann Fitzgerald, English and Women's Studies, Denison.

Art by Women—Artists Judith Anderson and Joyce Parr will display and discuss their work. (Judith Anderson's work will be exhibited during the conference.)—Judith Anderson, East Lansing, Michigan; Joyce Parr, Art, Kenyon.

Women and Power—Four College of Wooster faculty members present an interdisciplinary look at an issue central to Women's Studies. Erika Laquer will examine Joan Kelly's thesis that the centralization of male authority means less autonomy for women, by looking at the experience of midwives and witches in seventeenth-century England. Susan Figge will consider the relationship between public and private patriarchy in Nazi and immediate post-war Germany, as understood and interpreted by a group of contemporary writers exploring their fathers' lives. Patricia Wismer will look at the female mystical tradition's critique of patriarchal language about God. Yvonne Williams will consider issues of women's power and control in relation to changing patterns of female criminality. The follow-up discussion will provide an opportunity to examine all the presentations in the context of Joan Kelly's model.—Erika Laquer, History, Wooster; Susan Figge, German, Wooster; Patricia Wismer, Religious Studies, Wooster; Yvonne Williams, Black Studies, Wooster.

An Education For a Woman's Life: Training in Finding One's Path Through the Labyrinth—The speakers collaborated on an in-depth study of 88 ordinary women's perceptions of their lives. They developed a methodology that allowed the "observed" to control the categories and structure of her narrative rather than having that imposed from the "observer's" point of view. This pushed the researchers to learn more about their implicit points of view, as well as maintaining the integrity of the narrative to a high degree. This collaboration, in turn, has influenced each of the speakers in her philosophy of education and her actual classroom practices. The session will focus on a) the methodology of the study; b) the structure, function, and characteristics of an adequate self-narrative; c) implications for a feminist pedagogy of the study's methodology and conclusions; and d) an illustration of the pedagogy.—Penny Jameson, Psychology, St. Mary's; Ann Loux, English, St. Mary's; Gail Mandell, Humanistic Studies, St. Mary's; Linnea Vacca, English, St. Mary's.

10:45 AM - Noon Film showing: "Not a Love Story"

1:00 - 2:30 PM Concurrent Sessions:

Searching for the Past: Methods in Women's History—In "Emancipated Spirits: A Faculty-Student Collaboration in Women's History," Gail Griffin will discuss the book of biographical portraits of Kalamazoo College women which she and three students researched and wrote for the college's sesquicentennial. She will address problems and benefits of faculty-student collaboration, issues in Women's Studies historical research and analysis, and the obstacle of establishing the importance of "another women's project" to the institution. Sandra Peacock Chanaca, who is completing dissertation research, will speak on "Searching for the Past: Some Thoughts on Researching Women's Education in England." Her paper will address the unique problems associated with interpreting English women's educational experience from an American perspective.—Gail Griffin, English and Non-Traditional Student Program, Kalamazoo; Sandra Peacock Chanaca, Oberlin, Ohio.

White Racism in the 80's: Institutional Responses Within the GLCA—Since its beginnings, the GLCA Women's Studies Committee has explored the points of convergence between the oppression of cultural groups and of women, and has sought to help our institutions respond sensitively to the special problems of individuals and groups most adversely affected by racism and sexism.

For this session, Margaret Fete and others have gathered short case studies of racist occurrences detrimental to black students' learning and well-being on GLCA campuses. After they present a description of the incidents and the institutional responses to them, there will be a discussion of the experiences of black women and men students on our campuses, the types of recourse and counsel provided to them, and the responsibilities of institutions, teachers, and advisors to address the issue.—Margaret Fete, French, Ohio Wesleyan.

The Politics of Computers on Campus and in our Disciplines—In "The Political Implications of Computer Technology," Gloria Townsend will trace women's involvement in computer technology from the era of Lady Lovelace, the first computer programmer, to the era of ADA, a modern computer programming language. Her paper will be followed by a group discussion of the growing importance of computers on our campuses and in our disciplines, and the implications of that for women.—Gloria Townsend, Mathematics and Computer Science, DePauw.

Discussion of "Not a Love Story"—This film, which will be shown several times during the conference, is the chronicle of two women who set out to learn more about pornography—why it exists, what form it takes, and how it affects relations between men and women. The film offers the perspectives of some people in the "business," as well as interviews with some of pornography's most outspoken critics, and it provokes strong reactions in viewers. This session will offer an opportunity to discuss those reactions and to analyze some of the issues raised in the film.—Ann Simon, Co-op Program, Antioch; David Myers, Psychology, Hope.

The Feminist Challenge to Traditional Scholarly Methodology—In this session, representatives of the humanities, social sciences, and sciences will explore feminist critiques of method and the way the traditional disciplines have been changed or might be changed by those critiques. In "The Best Feminist Criticism is a (New) New Criticism," Geraldine Ruthchild will review the problems presented for feminists by traditional methodologies of literary criticism. Radical feminist and Marxist feminist criticism challenge these traditional methodologies, but leave us with a new set of difficulties, sometimes inflating system until it obscures the work of art it seeks to illuminate. She will argue that the best feminist criticism is both textual and contextual: it retains the primacy of the text but situates it in its social, economic, historical, and biographical contexts. Mark Weaver will discuss critiques of social science methodology, focusing on the work of political scientists Zillah Eisenstein and Jean Elshtain. Stan Bernstein will discuss points of convergence and conflict between scientific methodology and feminist methodology.—Geraldine Ruthchild, English, Albion; Mark Weaver, Political Science, Wooster; Stan Bernstein, Chemistry, Antioch.

Assertiveness Workshop for Women Employed in Academic Settings—Participants will gain practice and experience in assertive responses to specific campus situations. Emphasis will be on issues of concern to women as employees of academic institutions. Such issues might include: how and when to speak up at faculty meetings; dealing with sexual harassment; presenting your ideas so that they will be taken seriously; negotiating the terms of your employment; or other group-generated situations.—Ann Fitzgerald, English and Women's Studies, Denison; Joan Straumanis, Academic Dean, Kenyon.

2:45 - 4:00 PM Second seminar session. Conference participants will meet with their assigned seminar groups to continue their discussion of key issues in Women's Studies and feminist pedagogy.

4:45 - 6:00 PM Community meeting. An opportunity to make announcements and brief reports of general interest, and to raise Women's Studies issues that participants consider especially important to address throughout this conference and within our colleges.

7:00 - 8:15 PM Concurrent sessions:

Women and Physical Education—In "Teaching Coach vs. Coaching Teacher," Marilyn Maurer will present her perceptions of the role of the female physical education teacher at a small college. Faced with the role conflict of teaching vs. coaching, women often define themselves fundamentally as Teacher—even when coaching. Marj Snyder will discuss "The Development of Self-Esteem in Women Athletes at the Small College Level." Two questions she will address are: "There is a great potential for individual growth within the context of an intercollegiate program. What methodologies should the coach adopt?" and "Is there a feminist methodology of coaching?"—Marilyn Maurer, Physical Education, Kalamazoo; Marj Snyder, Physical Education, Hope.

Opportunities for Women's Studies Research at the Newberry Library—Penny Gold, Director of the ACM/GLCA Newberry Library Program, will describe this year's seminar on "Love, Marriage and Family" and next year's seminar on "Crime and Punishment." Students from this year's seminar will then report on their research: Becky Conekin on "Love, Marriage, and Family at Brook Farm," Judy Kisor on "The Employment of Married Women at the Pullman Company, 1938-1947," Annie Mullin on "Indian Adoption of White Children," and Mark Swayze on "The Female Protagonist in the Novels of James, Wharton, Crawford and Southworth."—Penny Gold, Director of ACM/GLCA Newberry Library Program; Becky Conekin, Knox; Judy Kisor, Kalamazoo; Annie Mullin, Lawrence; Mark Swayze, Wabash.

Marriage and Family Patterns: A Multi-Cultural View—Sharon Presley will present an informal discussion and comparison of traditional, non-traditional, and ex-Mormon women and their attitudes toward marriage, women's issues and authority. The presentation will also look at research data on their family experiences and socialization. Special attention will be given to the non-traditional or feminist Mormon women. Robina Quale's paper, part of a larger study she is doing, is entitled, "The Functions of Incest Taboos, Social Replacement Considerations, and Ages at

Marriage and Death, in the Development of Marriage Systems." From the beginnings of humankind, the process of selecting marriage partners has had to take into account the practical realities of possible risks from inbreeding, the inadvisability of bearing more young than current resources and technology can provide for, and the desirability of bearing enough young to keep familiar social roles filled. The paper will focus on the influence of these considerations on partnership selection, from earliest times to the present.—Sharon Presley, Psychology, Wooster; Robina Quale, History, Antioch; Discussant, Shulamit Decktor, Wooster, Ohio.

Teaching the Extracurricular: A Workshop on Non-Classroom Pedagogy—A look at Women's Studies teaching/education that goes on outside of the classroom in campus programming, women's centers, and teacher-student relationships. Included in the discussion will be the difficult relationships that sometimes evolve between students and faculty members, and the change in the college climate that can be produced by active women's groups.—Barbara Caruso, English, Earlham; Kelly Willson, Earlham alumna; Susan Figge, German, Wooster.

How Women and Men Write About Themselves (less differently than you might expect)—Catherine Lamb will present the results of a study testing recent assertions about women's and men's autobiographies, using a computer-assisted analysis of passages from forty contemporary autobiographies. Patterns of pronoun occurrence suggest women may be less selfless than is often stated; men refer to other people more often than women do. Women and men use similar approaches to organization, although women do more "showing" in development. Men's assertiveness is apparent in the types of logical connectors and punctuation they use. Following her presentation will be an opportunity for discussion.—Catherine Lamb, English, Albion.

Homophobia in the 1980's: Institutional Responses Within the GLCA—John White will describe a program at DePauw which had some success, within the context of that institution's social climate, in addressing the problem of homophobia. Responses to homophobia on other GLCA campuses will also be discussed, as will ways of working within each institution's particular social climate.—John White, Religion and Faculty Development, DePauw; Moderator, Kathryn Schwartz, English, Ohio Wesleyan.

Feminist Principles and Management Principles: Points of Convergence?—Susan Daily will discuss "Quality, Excellence, and Generic Skills for the 80's: What Management Could Learn From Feminists," comparing a grassroots, community-based feminist organization to Ouchi's "Theory Z" companies and Peters and Waterman's "excellent" companies, in terms of structure, philosophy, and values. The questions raised include: "How can managerial women take advantage of the current 'crisis' in management to increase their own autonomy and power within changing institutions?" and "Can a parallel be made between the feminization of office work in the early 1900's and the introduction of the 'electronic office' today?" In "In Search of Excellence in Academic Libraries," Laverna Saunders will note that the eight management principles in America's best-run companies, as described by Peters and Waterman in In Search of Excellence, apply as well to academic libraries (which are often staffed primarily by women). Few libraries practice this corporate philosophy, yet the potential for excellence is clear and awaits development.—Susan Daily, Asst. to the Executive Director, GLCA Philadelphia Urban Semester; Laverna Saunders, Library, DePauw.

8:30 - 9:15 PM Interest Groups. An opportunity to meet with others who identify themselves as you do, to share concerns, ideas and support.

9:30 PM Entertainment. A performance by singer/songwriter/guitarist Judy Gorman-Jacobs.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 6

9:00 - 10:00 AM Concurrent sessions (formal papers and responses):

Ibsen's "A Doll's House" and Historical Perspective on Performances of Nora—Dwight Watson will examine notable performances of the character of Nora, historical aspects of the play in production, and critical responses to the play as a "feminist" or "humanist" work.—Dwight Watson, Theatre, Wabash. Respondent: Carolyn Lancet, Theatre, Kalamazoo.

Marital Metaphors in the Judaeo-Christian Tradition: A Feminist Critique—As the Old Testament prophets, the New Testament writers, and the early church theologians struggled to portray the relationship between Yahweh and Israel, or Christ and the Church, they often turned to bridal or nuptial imagery. This presentation will analyze the role of the female partner in these metaphors, provide a feminist critique of these images, and explore the implications for female-male relationships today.—Tom Ludwig and Jane Dickie, Psychology, Hope. Respondent: John White, Religion, DePauw.

A Feminist Vision of Science Teaching: A Struggle Now, a Radical Future—Kathryn Edwards will present some feminist pedagogical principles and specific stategies for application to the teaching of the sciences. Some of the immediate and long-term goals of such radical changes in the accepted teaching mandate for the sciences will be offered. The problems that individuals/departments/institutions present for the implementation of new/radical changes in pedagogy and curriculum will also be discussed.—Kathryn Edwards, Biology, Kenyon. Respondent: Barbara Caruso, English, Earlham.

Bem's Gender Schema Theory—Janet Hyde will present one of the newest theories in psychology of women, gender schema theory, which aims at explaining the cognitive underpinnings of the sex-typing process. She will review several experiments done to test the theory, including two senior Honors projects done at Denison. She will also consider the radical implications for child-rearing suggested by the theory.—Janet Hyde, Psychology, Denison. Respondent: Margaret Berrio, Psychology, DePauw.

Play and Reflexivity: The Women in Hamlet—Phyllis Gorfain will examine Hamlet from the point of view of play and reflexivity, using the theories of Gregory Bateson and other thinkers interested in metacommunication. Her thesis is that engaging in play requires a reflexive stance which enables one to manipulate the processes of making meaning, for play transforms how an activity is interpreted. Unable to explore or test their situations through play and ludic activity, as Hamlet does, both Gertrude and Ophelia demonstrate the peculiarly female versions of Hamlet's alternatives. Both women are witnesses, unreflexive and non-controlling; through their special female tragedies, the drama teaches us how to assume a more reflexive and responsible stance as audiences, caught in a similar position of passivity and unsure knowing; the play Shakespeare writes teaches us how to use play and drama in more powerful ways.—Phyllis Gorfain, English, Oberlin. Respondent: Katherine Loring, GLCA Women's Studies Coordinator.

10:15 - 11:00 AM Closing keynote address: "Re-thinking the Ways We Teach"—Barrie Thorne, Associate Professor of Sociology, Michigan State University.

Conference Planning Committee: Chair, Jami Peelle, Library, Kenyon; Myrna (Brandy) McCallister, Library, Albion; Susan Figge, German, Wooster; Katherine Loring, GLCA Women's Studies Coordinator.

The GLCA Women's Studies Committee members all contributed to the planning and arrangements for this conference. Committee members and liaison persons for 1983-1984 are: Myrna (Brandy) McCallister, Library, Albion; Elaine Sproat, Humanities, Antioch; Bonnie Lamvermeyer, Biology, Denison; Debbie Bhattacharyya, Sociology, DePauw; Barbara Caruso, English, Earlham; Jane Dickie, Psychology, Hope; Gail Griffin, English, Kalamazoo; Jami Peelle, Library, Kenyon, Phyllis Gorfain, English, Oberlin; Kathryn Schwartz, English, Ohio Wesleyan; Susan Figge, German, Wooster; Pamela Park, Modern Languages, Wabash; Katherine Loring, GLCA Women's Studies Coordinator.